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[*Anderson, Photo.*

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE AND THE PROCESS OF CANONISATION IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BY

MARGARET R. TOYNBEE, M.A., PH.D.

WITH FRONTISPIECE

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PREFACE.

This book is an expansion of a thesis written for the degree of Ph.D. at Manchester University. The fact that I had the honour of holding for two years the University's Edmund Roscoe Scholarship enabled me to carry out the necessary research, and it is a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of expressing my gratitude for this award and for the facilities afforded me while I was a member of the Manchester History School. I had the great privilege of working under the direction of Professor Tout, to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude for his invaluable guidance and untiring interest. I desire also to express my warmest thanks to Professor Powicke, Dr. A. G. Little, and Dr. Robert Fawtier for greatly valued advice and assistance; to the Oxford Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History who kindly allowed me to consult him on special points; to Professor Claude Jenkins; and to Mr. J. A. Herbert for the unstinted time and trouble which he has given to the reading of my proofs and for his many helpful suggestions. Further, I wish to thank the Prior of the College of S. Bonaventura at Quaracchi for the generosity with which he placed at my disposal the printed, but as yet unpublished, Process of Canonisation of S. Louis of Toulouse; and P. Michael Bihl, O.F.M., of the same College, for his kind assistance.

My thanks are also due to the Manchester University Press and to the British Society for Franciscan Studies for publishing this book, and to the Secretary of the Manchester University Press for the trouble which he has taken while it has been passing through the press.

MARGARET RUTH TOYNBEE.

OXFORD, *May, 1929.*

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS FOR AUTHORITIES CITED.

AA.SS.	Acta Sanctorum.
A.B.	Analecta Bollandiana.
A.F.	Analecta Franciscana.
A.F.H.	Archivum Franciscanum Historicum.
A.S.P.N.	Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane.
A.S.I.	Archivio Storico Italiano.
B.F.	Bullarium Franciscanum.
P.C.	Processus Canonizationis S. Ludovici Ep. Tolosani.

INTRODUCTION.

For about a hundred and fifty years, that is roughly during the whole of the fourteenth, and the first half of the fifteenth, century, Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, was regarded as one of the greatest saints of the First Order of S. Francis, ranking in both Minorite and popular estimation next after the founder and S. Anthony of Padua. To-day his name is practically unknown outside his own Order. To students of the *Divina Commedia* he is familiar as the brother of Dante's chief aversion, King Robert of Naples, and the probable subject of a disputed passage in the *Paradiso*.[1] Students of thirteenth-century Italian history are aware of his existence as a hostage for his father, King Charles II, during the troubles which succeeded the Sicilian Vespers. These two facts constitute his sole title to remembrance by the greater number of those who have ever heard of him. Even a certain revival of interest in S. Louis which has taken place of recent years in France and Italy has failed to make him, at best, more than a name to the average member of the Roman Church, while his story has been almost wholly neglected in England where, as far as I am aware, scarcely anything has been written about him. This is the more curious considering the extraordinary *flair* for S. Francis and all things Franciscan which has characterised the early years of this century and which still continues apparently unabated. Not a year passes without some new presentment of the life of S. Francis, some fresh book about Assisi, or some original study bearing on the Order. Yet the life of S. Louis is one of singular interest and fully deserving of study, whether we regard it from

[1] Canto VIII, ll. 145-146.

the Franciscan, the social or, finally, from the personal point of view.

To take first the Franciscan aspect of S. Louis of Toulouse, which is, after all, the most important, we find his career to be an illuminating chapter in the history of "Spiritual" Franciscanism. Practically coinciding with the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Louis' life covered one of the most critical periods in the history of the Order, namely that which saw the height of the struggle between the Conventual party of compromise and the Zealot party of reform. At the impressionable age of twelve he began to come under the Zealot influence, and for seven years was educated entirely by friars of reforming sympathies. Their influence was the greater owing to the peculiar circumstances in which those seven years were passed. As a hostage for his father, Louis spent nearly all that time in a remote Catalan fortress, where he was naturally thrown to an unusual extent upon the society of his teachers. The outcome of this influence, his act of renunciation of a great inheritance, an act which made so strong an appeal even to the later Middle Ages, is a striking example of the power and fascination which "Spiritual" Franciscanism was capable of exercising over certain temperaments. At the same time it can scarcely be doubted that Louis' action, in its turn, did much to strengthen the Zealots' cause. Coming between the deposition of their champion, Friar Raymond Gauffridi, from the office of Minister-General (1295), and the condemnation of the writings of their late leader, Peter Johannis Olivi, by the General Chapter of Lyons (1299), it was a direct challenge to the Conventual party on behalf of poverty and renunciation of the world.

In the second place, regarding the life of S. Louis from the social point of view, its study provides an excellent picture of the upbringing of a youth of royal birth during the closing years of the thirteenth century, his education, his pastimes, and his household. Of these we possess an unusually detailed account, and are thus enabled to reconstruct the daily life of Louis and his brothers both in their early childhood and after their removal as hostages to Aragon. The education of the Neapolitan Angevin princes was modelled upon that of their cousins, the children of

the Royal House of France, and it is evident that their parents devoted much thought to the subject.

From the period of the detention of Louis as a hostage in Aragon we get considerable insight into the mediæval standards of honour and courtesy recognised by princes in their diplomatic relations. If Louis himself was never a person of much political importance, yet his career is not without its significance for political history, since his imprisonment affords an interesting side-light on the early stages of the great struggle between Anjou and Aragon, a struggle which was destined to disturb Europe for the best part of a century and a half.

Finally, there is the personal interest of S. Louis. He is not a mere name to which certain events are attached, but a very living personality. There can be no doubt as to the reality of his religious life or the purity and gentleness of his character. He was capable of inspiring deep affection in the hearts of very different kinds of people. His younger brothers, to whom he had constituted himself protector and guide during their detention in Aragon, were warmly attached to him and cherished his memory. His tutors and servants and his companion friars were all eager to give evidence in his favour. Yet Louis' failings are apparent enough. For all his gentleness he was extremely obstinate and self-absorbed. In him self-will was disguised under the subtle form of self-surrender. This is exemplified by his yielding to the temptation of accepting a bishopric in order to achieve his ambition of becoming a friar. His age, unlike our own perhaps, did not see anything but what was laudable in his renunciation of his splendid inheritance. To most of his contemporaries he seemed in this to be following the higher ideal, and not to be shrinking from the responsibilities of obvious duty. Few of them would have agreed with Dante's criticism (if we accept the passage in the *Paradiso*, Canto VIII, ll. 145-146, as referring to Louis): "Ma voi torcete alla religione Tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada." [1]

In the first part of this study an attempt has been made to trace the life of S. Louis of Toulouse. This short life falls naturally into three well-defined periods. First there is his boyhood

[1] "But you wrench to a religious order him born to gird a sword."

spent in Provence and ending with the removal of himself and his two younger brothers to Aragon in 1288. About this, the least important period, we have the most scanty information of any, and it can be dealt with in a single chapter. This is followed by Louis' seven years' detention as a hostage in Catalonia, covering the years 1288-1295. These years saw his acceptance of the ideals of "Spiritual" Franciscanism, and marked the turning-point in his life, namely his determination to enter the Franciscan Order. For the clearer understanding of this important period it has seemed best to divide it into three sections, showing first the secular side of the life and environment of S. Louis in Catalonia; secondly, the general condition of the Franciscan Order at the close of the thirteenth century and the particular "Spiritual" influences which were brought to bear upon Louis in captivity; and lastly, the triumphant conclusion, when he obtained his release, of his determination to enter the religious life. Finally, there is the period of Louis' brief career after his return from Spain, dating from January, 1296, to his death in August, 1297, at the early age of twenty-three. This last period has also, for the sake of convenience, been subdivided. In it we trace Louis through his act of renunciation of the rights of primogeniture and his claims to Naples; through his quiet year at Naples, part of which was spent in preparing for the orders of deacon and priest; through his entry into the Franciscan Order and episcopate of Toulouse, to the final scene of his death at Brignoles.

In the second part I have tried to give some account of fourteenth-century methods of canonisation, centring my study round the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis of Toulouse. Since the subject of early canonisations covers a wider field than the life of an individual saint it is, perhaps, of greater historical importance and opens up many interesting questions. The subject of canonisation has been curiously neglected, and there appears to be no quite modern book which deals with it.[1] The standard authority, Benedict XIV's monumental and indispensable *De*

[1] Père H. Delehaye's learned *Sanctus. Essai sur le Culte des Saints dans l'Antiquité*, Brussels (1927), deals with the origins of the subject.

Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione,[1] has not only the disadvantage of being contained in five ponderous folio volumes, but it is somewhat antiquated and, as I shall show in my section on authorities, is apt to be uncritical and inaccurate. In making these statements I hope that I shall be considered neither ungrateful nor presumptuous. I need hardly say that my short study does not pretend to the learning of Benedict XIV, nor does it purport to supply the need, which I cannot help feeling is a very real one, of a complete history of canonisation written in English.[2] But under the circumstances I have thought it best, before proceeding with my main subject, to give a sketch of the history of canonisation up till the beginning of the thirteenth century. In doing so I have perforce taken Benedict XIV's work as the groundwork of my inquiry, but, while thankfully accepting his guidance, I have been careful not to accept his statements without investigation. By way of illustration I have laid particular stress on English procedure both in the matter of canonisation and of the admission of the names of saints into calendars.

With regard to my chief theme, fourteenth-century practice, it has been my aim, especially by comparing and contrasting it with thirteenth-century methods, to show that the Popes of the Babylonish Captivity were progressive and efficient, and that under their organisation the system of canonisation made great advances.

Authorities.

The authorities for the life of S. Louis of Toulouse may be divided into three groups of contemporary, non-contemporary, and modern writings. Of these the contemporary documents naturally demand prior attention. There are five of capital importance which relate entirely to S. Louis.

(1) The primary authority for every period of the life is the *Inquisitio facta per venerabiles patres dominos Guidonem Xanctonensem et Raymundum Lectorensem episcopos super vita, moribus*,

[1] 1734-1738.

[2] F. W. Faber's *Essay on Beatification, Canonization, and the Processes of the Congregation of Rites* (1848) is not without interest, but of no great value to the historical student.

meritis et miraculis domini Ludovici Tholosani episcopi . . ., in brief, the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis. Now a nearly contemporary process of canonisation such as this (proceedings were begun in 1307, only ten years after Louis' death) provides in the form of question and answer a unique but most curiously illuminating kind of biography. This invaluable document is divided into two parts. The first contains the testimony of twenty chief witnesses and thirteen subordinate ones to Louis' sanctity, the great majority of the former being his intimate personal friends; the second gives an account of the miracles performed at his intercession. The work of many hands, a process resembles in some degree a modern collection of "appreciations," and possesses the merits of such a collection in that it gives not one but several points of view. We are quite conscious of the characters of the individual witnesses in spite of the set questions put to them. It is noticeable, for instance, that while Friar Fortis (Witness 5), a Franciscan inquisitor, lays stress upon Louis' learning, Raymond de Ficubus (Witness 4), an uneducated Catalan servant, delights to recount little homely details about his dead master such as are considered beneath their notice by Louis' old tutors, the Bishops of Rapolla and Gaeta (Witnesses 19 and 20). In this way we often obtain information on just those little points which we want to know in order to obtain a vivid picture of Louis and his surroundings.

The history of the manuscript of the Process of Canonisation demands a few words. The only extant manuscript is now in the R. Biblioteca Estense at Modena, where it forms part of the Campori Collection presented to the Library in 1871. Although described in the catalogue of the Collection as belonging to the fifteenth century, P. D. Ambrogio Abbate Amelli, O.S.B., considers that it is evidently the original document transcribed by Bernard Salagnac, the notary in charge of the proceedings.[1] There is no statement on the codex showing its former location, mediæval or modern. Nevertheless an interesting clue does exist in the title. On the lower margin of the first page is written in a sixteenth-century hand: *Libro della vita e miracoli di messer Sto*

[1] *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II, 382-383 (1909).

Aloise.[1] *Aloise* is the Venetian form of *Lodovico*, so that the reasonable presumption is that the manuscript was preserved somewhere in Venetian territory during the sixteenth century. Now the earliest mention of a manuscript of the Process of S. Louis which I have been able to discover comes from Pietro Ridolfi's *Historiarum Seraphicæ Religionis Liber Primus*, printed at Venice in 1586. On fol. 122^{v} of this work we find, at the end of a short account of S. Louis, the following sentence: "Extat Venetiis in sacrario apud Minores processus quo habetur vita B. Ludovici et omnia miracula accurate conscripta." It therefore seems extremely probable that the manuscript now at Modena is that which belonged in 1586 to the Friars Minor of Venice. It is not known how the manuscript came to be included in the Campori Collection, but assuming that it is indeed the Venetian Franciscan codex, there would be nothing improbable in supposing that, after remaining another two centuries in Venice, it may have found its way, along with many other of the Frari treasures, into private hands during the disturbances of the Austrian and French occupations at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The same mystery, which surrounds the history of the Process between the conversion of the Frari into a state museum and the arrival of this manuscript at Modena, surrounds it between the early years of the fourteenth century and 1586. It cannot have formed part of the library of the Avignonese Popes, for the catalogue of Urban V's books, compiled at Avignon in 1369, makes no mention of it, although it describes the Processes of SS. Thomas of Cantelupe, Ives of Tréguier, and Elzéar de Sabran.[2] How and when it came to Venice is a complete mystery. All that we can say with certainty is that a manuscript of it was there in 1586, and probably as early as 1554. In the latter year a little book entitled *La Vita et Legenda et miracoli del glor. misser Sto Lodovico episcopo et confessore* was printed in the city, re-issued in 1619. The title sounds as if the book were based upon the Process of Canonisation.

[1] I owe this information to the kindness of the Director of the R. Biblioteca Estense, Dott. Domenico Fava.

[2] Maurice Faucon, *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon* (1886).

After the time of Ridolfi the Process seems to have sunk into oblivion, being apparently entirely unknown to Franciscan writers and hagiographers during the three succeeding centuries. From this obscurity it has now, however, been rescued, thanks to the researches of the Quaracchi Fathers. The College of S. Bonaventura at Quaracchi, a society well known for its valuable work of editing documents dealing with the Franciscan Order and kindred matters, has had the Process printed for the first time and it will be published in due course, together with other matter relating to S. Louis, by the Quaracchi Press in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII. By the great kindness of the Prior of the College I have been allowed to acquire a copy of the Process, and it is upon this that I have, in the main, based my account of S. Louis.[1] No modern writer on the subject has hitherto had access to the Process of Canonisation, incontestably the most important authority for his life. Thus, even the work of the best of these, Verlaque, who published his *Vie de Saint Louis* in 1885, is totally inadequate.

(2) Next in importance to the Process of Canonisation, but following it at a considerable distance, must be reckoned the nearly contemporary Life of S. Louis which is known under the name of the "John of Orta" Life. Several manuscripts of this Life are in existence, two of which are in the British Museum[2] and a third in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.[3]

Codex Add. 23775 in the British Museum consists of two parts. (1) A compendium of the life of S. Louis, such as occurs in the proper offices of the Friars Minor (fol. 3^{r}—fol. 12^{v}). (2) The Life itself (fol. 12^{v}—fol. 74^{r}). Prefixed to the whole is the following title in a formal hand (16th cent.):

Vita S^ti^ Ludouici Episcopi
Tholosani filij Caroli secundi
Siciliæ Regis
profusè & accuratè conscripta

[1] All my references to the Process follow the numbers of the pages of this offprint. I have not thought it necessary, except in a few cases, to add the number of the short *capitulum* in which the evidence is contained.

[2] Add. MS. 23775, Cent. XV, imitating Cent. XI script; Cotton MS. Cleopatra B. II, Cent. XV.

[3] No. 39, Cent. XIV.

a Ioanne de Orta de Ciuitate Trani,
Apulo, eius Archidiacono, Eleemosinario,
Cappellano, domestico, ac familiari,
& aliquandiu Confessario,
Synchrono & oculato teste.

Below, in smaller writing of the same type:

Bibliothecæ serenissimi Alphonsi Aragonum & Siciliæ Regis num°. 33.

From this title, which is lacking in the two other codices, is derived the name John of Orta.

Add. MS. 23775 is a beautiful manuscript with illuminated capitals at the beginning of each chapter. Three of the chapter headings are written in in red, but the four remaining chapters lack headings, although space has been left for them to be filled in.

The Life contained in Cleopatra B. II, fol. 187 *et seq.*, is bound up with other Lives of Franciscan saints. It contains all the chapter headings. The Life is followed by a collection of additional miracles (fol. 207^{v}, col. 2—fol. 212^{v}, col. 2).

The two British Museum manuscripts and that belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan have been edited and very carefully collated by the Bollandists in their publication entitled *Analecta Bollandiana* (IX, 281-340, 1890), where the additional miracles (*Appendix ad Miracula*) are also printed. In the eighteenth century the same society published in the *Acta Sanctorum* (August, III, 806-822) what the editors style *Vita auctore anonymo synchrono, qui Sancto familiaris fuit.* This Life was first published by Henricus Sedulius, a Friar Minor, in 1602 from a manuscript discovered by him in the Franciscan convent at Louvain.[1] Although there was no title to the manuscript assigning it to any author, and in spite of the fact that Sedulius unfortunately took upon himself to modernise the style and made free with the text, especially by printing it out of order, a careful comparison of his anonymous Life with that attributed to John of Orta shows that they are substantially the same.

Sedulius divided up the Louvain MS. Life into a large number

[1] It was reprinted by him in his *Historia Seraphica*, etc., 297-330, Antwerp (1613).

of short chapters. The Bollandists, in their 1890 edition of the John of Orta Life, have followed the same method, placing in square brackets against the number of their chapter the number of the corresponding chapter, chapters, or portion of chapters in Sedulius' edition. Although I have examined the two British Museum manuscripts, I have found it convenient to quote the *Analecta Bollandiana* edition, where the spelling is modernised, and the references to all my quotations from the Life are given as the chapter and page in Volume IX of that publication.

I understand from the Quaracchi Fathers that they are re-publishing the John of Orta Life, with the help of MSS. which were not collated by the Bollandists, in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII.

Add. MS. 23775 has also been edited by the Capuchin Fathers (who were unaware of the Bollandists' edition when they undertook the task) in their publication, *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* (XIII, 338-351, 360-372, 1897, and XIV, 16-27, 83-92, 1898). The Capuchins collated the British Museum MS. with one in the Franciscan Museum at Marseilles, and noted the principal variant readings. This Marseilles MS. forms part of a fourteenth-century lectionary in which S. Louis' legend appears after several others. It consists of the whole of c. I, part of II, VI, and part of VII of the John of Orta Life.

Yet another MS. of the John of Orta Life belongs to Trinity College, Dublin (Codex E. 3. 11, XIV/XV Saec. fol. 113-121). This has just been collated with the Bollandists' edition by P. Paul Grosjean, S.J. (*Vitae S. Ludovici Tolosani et S. Antonii de Padua e Codicibus Dubliniensibus*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVI, 344-364, 1928).

The British Museum codex Add. 23775 gives us the name of the author of the Life, and not his name only, but the place of his origin and a very full account of his relation to the subject of his biography. Moreover, in the text, although the writer never mentions himself by name, there are certain pieces of information about him which would appear to bear out the statements contained in the title. Thus, in his preface the author tells us that he was induced to write the life of Louis largely out of devotion to the latter's person, being indebted to

the saint for many benefits, and that he had witnessed some of the events which he describes while living in Louis' household. Further, he was evidently familiar with the Queen of Sicily, Mary of Hungary, from whom he obtained information about her son's childhood (c. 3); while he was clearly with Louis at Barcelona (probably in 1294) from the fact that he mentions having heard the saint dispute there (c. 14). Finally, it is possible to infer from internal evidence that the author was writing between the years 1319 and 1334, since he mentions the translation of Louis' body which took place in the former, and speaks of John XXII, who died in the latter year, as "now by divine providence occupying the chair of Blessed Peter." [1]

Nevertheless, in spite of this very full information, the person of John of Orta is wrapped in complete mystery. So far as any one has yet been able to discover, the name occurs only in the above oft-quoted title to this one manuscript. Here, obviously, is a curious problem. In the first place, if John had been the intimate friend of S. Louis which the title claims that he was, and the man who wrote his life at the request of "certain very distinguished persons," [2] as another passage in the preface informs us that he did, how is it that he finds no mention in S. Louis' will? Louis was evidently deeply attached to his friends, and all his particular ones were remembered by bequests in grateful recognition of past services. Before I had had access to the Process of Canonisation I felt how strange it was that John of Orta should have been thus left out, but was certain that he must occupy a prominent position in the Process, and that an examination of this document would, in fact, clear up the mystery with which his name had hitherto been surrounded. But to my astonishment and disappointment I searched the pages in vain for any notice of him; there was a John of Us and a John de Bimaret, but no John of Orta. Louis' "archdeacon, almoner,[3] domestic chaplain, *familiaris*, and sometime confessor" finds no

[1] At the same time it is curious that in c. 75 we should find "in civitate Avinionis ubi tunc Romana curia residebat." Is this the scribe's own interpolation?

[2] "quibus oboedire ex caritate compellor."

[3] Fr. Peter Cocardi, O.M., Bishop of Troia, Witness 14, says that he was Louis' "helemosinarius." *Processus Canonizationis*, 85.

place in a document in which the evidence of quite humble servants is given and in which they find frequent mention.

Yet we know that John was not dead at this time: from the fact that he was writing between 1319 and 1334 he must have been alive in 1307-1308. The question immediately arises, how was it that such an important person was not secured as a witness? Distance from Marseilles, the scene of the papal inquiry, can hardly have presented a sufficient obstacle when we remember that more than one of the witnesses came from Italy for the purpose of giving evidence. If it is argued that pressure of duty may have kept him absent, we can only reply that daily duties were lightly set aside in the Middle Ages even for trivial causes, while for so important a reason as giving evidence in a cause of canonisation we may be sure that any one could obtain leave of absence. Illness seems to be the only possible pretext for John's non-attendance at Marseilles, and he may have been ill. Certainly the fact of his non-appearance as a witness is not in itself sufficient ground for throwing doubt on the existence of such a person. But even if he were ill, we should have expected that he would have been consulted by the petitioning party when they were drawing up the articles of interrogation provided for the information of the papal commissioners. Yet his name does not occur in this connection. Stranger still, he is never once mentioned by the witnesses. The identity of John of Orta remains a puzzle.

Setting aside the question of the exact authorship, the next problem which naturally arises is to determine the value of this Life as a source for our knowledge of S. Louis. The questions which the Life raises are: How far is the account given by John of Orta derived from personal knowledge? How far is it based upon the Process of Canonisation? How far does it rely upon sources of information other than these two? Or, to put the matter more briefly, to what extent is the Life independent of the Process?

The author himself states in his prologue that his sources of information are two-fold. He declares that he was an eye-witness of some of the events which he relates through having been a member of Louis' household, and that for incidents about which

he had no first-hand knowledge he was indebted to the accounts of "certain men who are deserving of credence." I do not think that his first-hand knowledge amounts to very much. The only definitely autobiographical information which he gives is that he once saw Louis disputing at Barcelona.[1] This was probably in 1294, since we know, from the independent evidence of another eye-witness given in the Process of Canonisation, that Louis disputed in the presence of the Franciscan Provincial Chapter held at Barcelona in that year.[2] Further, John of Orta supplies some details in the account of Louis' visit to Barcelona in 1294 not to be found in the Process of Canonisation. I should also be inclined to think that the author was present at Louis' second visit to Barcelona in 1297, for when he comes to the description of this event John waxes very eloquent over the crowd pushing and jostling in order to obtain a sight of the young Bishop, who is described in the most glowing terms and as having the face of an angel. Who could see such an one and not marvel? asks the enthusiastic writer.[3]

The Process of Canonisation is not mentioned by John of Orta as an authority upon which he has relied, but I think that there can be very little doubt that he had access to it and that he made very considerable use of it. At any rate that is the conclusion to which a careful comparison of the two documents has led me. A perusal of the *capitula generalia* prefixed to the Process of Canonisation shows that they have practically all been woven into the Life. Not that the same order has been preserved or exactly the same words employed. John of Orta's Life makes very little attempt to follow any chronological sequence like that maintained by the *capitula*. It is divided up into seven chapters as follows:—

Agitur enim primo de ipsius nobili origine et sacrae vitae inchoatione.
Secundo de orationis gratia et eius reverentia ad divina.
Tertio de mira eius scientia ac sapientia et de discreta prudentia.
Quarto de eius fervida caritate et austeritate vitae et pietate.

[1] C. 14.
[2] *P.C.*, 66. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi.
[3] C. 47.

Quinto de ipsius profunda et admiranda humilitate.
Sexto de eius felici obitu et consummatione.
Septimo de ipsius miraculis, canonizatione et translatione.

Again, the phrases employed in the Process and in the Life are not identical, as can best be shown by quoting two parallel passages.

Process.	Life.
xxiv *capitulum.*	C. 32.
Post collacionem vero ingrediens cameram, aliquid antequam dormiret de cantu discebat, et deinde non super lectum sed super quandam cathedram modicum quiescebat.	*Post huuismodi collationem aliquid de cantu ecclesiastico addiscebat et dehinc non lecto iacens, sed in cathedra sedens, modicum dormiebat.*
xxv *capitulum.*	
Postmodum autem, ne preteriret hora temporis ociosa, intrabat claustrum quod[d]am ad quod habebatur per eius cameram aditus, ubi librorum sancti Bernhardi et edificativorum eciam lectioni vacabat intentus.	*Post somnum vero intrabat quoddam secretum claustrum et ibi meditationes beati Bernardi vel alias devotionis scripturas sedule perlegebat.*
xxvj *capitulum.*	
Et si quando fatigatus erat a studio orticellum eidem claustro propinquum colebat cum parvo sarcello.	*Et si quando esset ex studio fatigatus, horticellum eidem claustro propinquum cum parvo sarculo excolebat.*

It is not simply, however, that John of Orta has made use of the *capitula generalia* which do, indeed, occur by themselves in a manuscript belonging to another Modena library.[1] There is scarcely an incident in the Life which is not recorded in the Process, although there is, of course, a great deal of matter in the Process which is not introduced into the Life. Examples of

[1] See *Descriptio Duorum Codicum Bibliothecae S. Cataldi (Mutinae)*, in *A.F.H.*, I, 624 (1908).

incidents found only in the Life are an unimportant anecdote relating Louis' intercession for some of his father's enemies during his retreat at Castel dell' Ovo in 1296 (c. 35), Louis' visit to the University of Paris in 1297 (c. 46), and the account of his visit to Tarascon *en route* for Rome in the summer of 1297 (cc. 16 and 48). It is from the Life also that we learn Louis' exact age when he died (c. 51). Moreover, the verb *testari* is twice employed in the Life. A comparison of the passage in which it occurs with the text of the Process of Canonisation clearly shows, I think, that it was taken, although not very accurately, from the latter.

Process. xviij[us] *testis.*	Life. C. 50.
Nobilis vir dominus Raymundus de Bancon miles, dominus de Podio Ricardi . . . Dixit eciam quod, quando dominus Ludovicus de hoc mundo transivit, ipse qui loquitur erat vigerius Massilie . . . Dixit eciam ipse testis qui loquitur, quod, cum in crastinum sepulture domini Ludovici Comune Massiliense vellet facere fieri exequias solempniter et faceret dici vigilias seu matutinas mortuorum pro ipso domino Ludovico, testis qui loquitur, qui erat in choro ecclesie fratrum Minorum Massilie, respexit in capite chori ex parte altaris et vidit dominum Ludovicum in habitu fratrum Minorum cum mantello ad collum et almucia in capite . . . Dixit eciam testis qui loquitur per iuramentum suum, quod audivit a domino Hugone de	*Dominus quoque Hugo de Vicinis tunc senescalcus Provinciae, vir utique bonus et verax, testatus est eum se vidisse in capite chori Massiliae in habitu et mantello cum pulchra et laeta facie, quamdiu exequiae duraverunt. Consimili modo tunc se eum vidisse Dominus Baucio, Dominus Podii Ricardus magnus baro Provinciae et vicarius fratrum minorum Marsiliae testati sunt.*

[*N.B.*—For the variant readings see *A.B.*, IX, 320.]

Vicinis, tunc temporis senescalco Provincie, quod simili modo eum viderat eodem die et eadem hora.

At the same time it would be a mistake to imagine that the Life is a mere echo of the Process. Nor is it simply a case of the author having narrated in flowery language events described in plain terms by the witnesses. It is perfectly true that he affects something of a rhetorical style and that we find, for instance, Louis compared to Solomon (c. 2), John the Baptist (c. 3), Tobias (c. 5), and Daniel (c. 14). The quotations from Scripture are abundant. But the difference between the Life and the Process lies in something more than this superficial dissimilarity. Events described in both narratives are very frequently differently recounted. It is not so much that there are serious discrepancies between the two accounts, as that they are apt to differ in points of detail. Very often the Life adds some particulars not to be found in the Process. A few examples will best illustrate my meaning.

Capitulum xiiij of the *capitula generalia* runs as follows: *Sic postremo disposuit vanitates seculi fugere et se totum Dei servicio dedicare, quod obses existens, motu proprio, non inductus a quoquam, in corde firmavit, post liberacionem suam ingredi fratrum Minorum Ordinem. Et id vovit eciam inibi. Et dictum in quodam festo Penthecostes votum castitatis emisit.* Of the six witnesses who can answer to this *capitulum*, Witness 1 says that he knows nothing about the vow to enter the Order, but he believes that Louis made a vow of chastity. Witness 2 knows nothing definitely of either vow, but had heard from Louis' brother, Raymond Berenger, that the prince had conceived a desire to enter the Franciscan Order while in captivity. Witness 3 is ignorant of any vows having been taken in Catalonia. Witness 5 knows nothing for certain, but had heard something to this effect from Louis' tutors, Witnesses 19 and 20. These say that they had it afterwards from Louis himself that he had made such vows; otherwise the witnesses would have known nothing of the matter. They were ignorant of the exact wording of the

vows and of the particular Pentecost at which the vow of chastity was made. Yet in the John of Orta Life (c. 5) we find a circumstantial account of the whole affair. It is related how Louis, while in captivity at Cuirana, was taken so desperately ill that his life was despaired of; how on the vigil of the Purification he vowed that, if he were cured, he would enter the Franciscan Order; and how, on the following feast of Pentecost, entering the castle chapel, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, he renewed at the altar the vow which he had made upon his sick-bed. This is an important discrepancy between the Process and the Life, for this vow was the turning-point in Louis' career.

Again, in the Process of Canonisation, Robert of Calabria gives vicarious testimony about a riding accident which befell Louis while he and his brothers were hostages in Catalonia. A far more elaborate account of the incident is to be found in chapter 6 of the Life, where the number of times Louis' horse rolled upon him, the horror of the spectators, etc., is graphically detailed. There are also considerable discrepancies in the story of how Louis kissed a leper at Barcelona in 1294 as narrated through Duke Robert and by the author of the Life. Moreover, the latter adds a little touch, not given in the Process, to the effect that the house in which Louis and his brothers were lodged in Barcelona was close to the Templars' church. We know from the author's own statement that he was personally acquainted with Barcelona.

Several other instances of the same kind might be given, but these examples must suffice. The question now arises whether the elaborations in the Life of incidents related in the Process are due to the author's imagination, or whether they and the slight discrepancies which sometimes occur are due to the fact that he obtained his knowledge of certain events from sources additional to the Process. Such sources, as already stated, might be his own recollections and the information vouchsafed to him by those trustworthy persons mentioned in the prologue to the Life. The question is not an easy one to answer, but I am inclined to think that while some of the extra details may be fictitious, the author was dependent for others on reliable sources. For example, it quite often happens that the Life puts in the form of a conversation between Louis and some other person a statement which is only

indirectly worded in the Process. Thus *c.* xxij of the Process relates how, when Louis was a hostage, he would often express his longing to his companions to be able to enter the Franciscan Order in some remote place, so that he might fulfil his vocation with the greater humility. This simple statement becomes in chapter 37 of the Life an elaborate conversation between Louis and one of his friar companions. Louis, who speaks in the first person, mentions Germany as one of the countries to which he would like to retire. The friar, who answers in the third person, is extremely discouraging about the feasibility of any incognito flight. It is quite easy to see how this conversation might have been worked up from the *capitulum*. On the other hand, there are sometimes conversations in the Life which are not directly derived from statements in the Process. For instance, in the account of Louis' death (c. 48), which is in substantial agreement with that given in the Process, there is a passage describing how Louis called to him one of his most intimate friar companions and poured out how great a weight upon his soul the bishopric had been, which does not correspond to any of Louis' dying words as recorded in the Process. It is possible that these words may have been reported to the author by an eyewitness of Louis' death.

The relation between chapter VII of the *Vita* and the second part of the Process of Canonisation, both of which deal with the miracles of S. Louis, can be more briefly dismissed. Sixty-nine miracles are recorded in the Process and twenty-nine in the Life, twenty-four being found in both. Of the six miracles recounted in the *Appendix ad Miracula* not to be found in the three manuscripts of the *Vita* nor in the Sedulius edition (which differs from them to a certain extent with regard to the miracles given) two are recorded in the Process.

It was, of course, quite a common practice for both parts of a process of canonisation to be utilised for the purpose of composing Lives of saints and books of their miracles. One need only instance William of Saint-Pathus' account of S. Louis, King of France, which was admittedly based on the King's Process. On the other hand, one sometimes comes across a case in which a Life or Lives of a saint have provided material for evidence in

a process. Thus, down to a certain point the deposition of the monk Eustace in the Process of S. Edmund of Abingdon is taken verbatim from the Life of the saint which he was composing at the time. But, as in 1245 or 1246, when the deposition was made, Eustace's Life had only reached a certain stage, he took the remainder of his evidence verbatim from a completed Life of Edmund by Robert Rich, omitting certain parts distasteful to him and giving a perfectly original description of the saint's death.[1]

The John of Orta Life has been the source from which several other Lives of S. Louis have been derived. An early example is that contained in the Legendary of Pietro Calò, a Venetian Dominican who probably died in 1348. Three manuscripts of his Legendary are extant—in the Marciana at Venice, the Cathedral Library at York, and the Biblioteca Barberini in Rome.[2] The Barberini MS. was written *c.* 1330-1340: in the Life of S. Louis King Robert is described as "Robertus nunc rex Ierusalem et Sicilie." This Life, as it appears in the Barberini MS. [Cod. Barberin., XIV, 87 (lat. 714, ff. 89-96)], has been edited by Giuseppe Presutti.[3]

Although Calò's compendium is plainly based upon John of Orta, a comparison of the two reveals various little differences and seems almost to point to an independent use by Calò of the Process of Canonisation. For instance, in the description which he gives of Louis' death-bed Calò mentions the friar sent to Louis from the Curia. This friar's visit is recorded in the Process but not by John of Orta. Then again, the account of the vision of Louis vouchsafed to the Seneschal of Provence and the Vicar of Marseilles [4] looks as if it had been taken either straight from the Process, or, more probably, from the *In Translacione Sancti Ludovici* (compiled *c.* 1319), and not from John of Orta; for, although not more accurately copied, the slips made are not the same. The account runs: *Vidit Senescallus Provincie, miles veredicus et celebris fame, ipsum Sanctum in capite chori stantem*

[1] See W. Wallace, O.S.B., *Life of S. Edmund of Canterbury*, 9-10 (1893).
[2] *Le Légendier de Pierre Calò*, in *A.B.*, XXIX (1910).
[3] *Una "Vita" inedita di S. Ludovico d'Angiò*, in *A.F.H.*, I, 282-290.
[4] See above, pp. 15-16.

cum habitu et mantello, pulchra et leta facie ; et peciit cum grandi fletu a fratre R. Gauffridi si sanctum videret Episcopum. Sic et vidit eum Vicarius Massilie, dominus R. de Bausio. Sed dicto "requiescat in pace" hominibus quidem disparuit . . . This is practically identical with that given in the *In Translacione.* There is no mention, it is true, of Friar R. Gauffridi in the story as related by Raymond de Bancon, Witness 18, in the Process, but it is significant that Raymond Gauffridi does figure earlier in the Process as a witness himself. It would seem that the compiler of the *In Translacione* obtained Gauffridi's name from that document, for it does not occur in John of Orta, and then made use of it in the wrong connection. Calò may have done the same, or he may have copied the *In Translacione.* In the same way the words "requiescat in pace" are derived from the Process and not from the Life. Lastly, the statement that the Archbishops of Arles, Embrun, and Aix, together with the citizens of Marseilles, had been petitioning for Louis' canonisation comes from the *In Translacione.* It is omitted by John of Orta.

It is interesting to notice that Calò's compendium has, in its turn, been utilised by the Venetian Paul, Bishop of Pozzuoli, O.M. (died 1345), for the account of Louis which he gives in his *Speculum sive Satyrica rerum gestarum mundi historia,* written under the name "Jordanus," between 1331 and 1345.[1] Paul's account consists of sentences selected from Calò and copied practically word for word, but with the order carefully changed.

A later fourteenth-century example of a Life of S. Louis, perhaps partially derived from John of Orta, is that contained in MS. Lat. 5376 belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The style is justly described in the catalogue as "turgid"; the author has certainly contrived to write a great deal while telling us very little about Louis. John of Orta was probably his model, but, if so, he has taken great liberties with the original, and added a few details not found there. Of the twelve chapters into which this Life is divided, cc. 10 and 11 are almost identical with cc. 11 and 12 in the Vatican *Fragmentum,* which I am

[1]See Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi,* IV, 1024-1027 (1741), *Excerpta ex Jordani Chronico,* cap. CCXXXVII, particula IV.

about to mention. C. 12, describing the miracles, is copied from the Bull of Canonisation.[1]

The Capuchin Fathers have printed *Fragmentum Vite S^ti Ludovici Franciscani, Tolosani Archiepiscopi, cui subiecta sunt miracula ab illo demortuo patrata* (Bib. Vat., Cod. Ottobonianus 2516, XIV saec.) to illustrate cc. II, VI, and VII of John of Orta.[2] They have also printed a typical compendium from a Franciscan Breviary (Bib. Nat., Paris, Cod. Lat. 1064, fol. 392 *et seq.*).[3]

For nearly three hundred years it has been erroneously supposed that, in addition to the John of Orta, or "Sedulius" Life as it was generally called, four other contemporary Lives of S. Louis had once existed, but that all had mysteriously disappeared. This error was based on a misunderstanding of the verb *testari* as employed by the sixteenth-century writer Ridolfi, in his *Historiarum Seraphicae Religionis Liber Primus*, in which he gives a short account of S. Louis (partially based on the Process), already referred to. His reference to four witnesses in the Process of Canonisation was mistaken by later writers for an allusion to four contemporary Lives which could never be traced. The general ignorance of the Process allowed of the perpetuation of the mistake, although, as a matter of fact, Ridolfi's meaning should have been quite clear.[4] Now that the Process is again accessible it has been possible to clear up a problem which has long troubled Franciscan hagiographers and other writers.[5]

(3) The third contemporary document relating to S. Louis

[1] Presutti (*A.F.H.*, I, 279) states that the Paris Life has been printed, but on inquiring where it had appeared from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the authorities very kindly supplied me with a rotograph of the MS. I have not succeeded in tracing a printed edition.

[2] *A.O.M.C.*, XIII, 360-361, and XIV, 21-22, 89-92.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIV, 120-126.

[4] Nevertheless, it would have saved a good deal of trouble had Ridolfi been as explicit as the Oxford antiquary, Brian Twyne, who, when quoting from the fragment of the Process of Canonisation of Edmund of Abingdon, now preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, gives as his reference: "Eustachius quidam monachus in suo certificatorio de B. Edmundo cū esset canonizandus sic de eo testat^r." (Twyne's MSS. in University Archives, Bodleian Library, vol. XXII, 142.) The quotation was copied whole by Anthony à Wood (*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Lib. II, 9, 1674), who merely adds "MS." to the reference, while Twyne gives the owner's name.

[5] See "*Lost Lives*" *of S. Louis of Toulouse*, by Margaret R. Toynbee, in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1923, 560-563. Since writing this

is the Bull of Canonisation promulgated by John XXII on 7th April, 1317. This contains a short summary of his life, and as such has been utilised again and again. Manuscript Lives founded on the Bull occur in famous libraries such as the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Royal Library of Brussels, and the Neapolitan Biblioteca Nazionale. The Bull itself has repeatedly been printed, most recently in the fifth volume of the *Bullarium Franciscanum*.[1]

(4) The fourth document is the Bull of Boniface VIII, dated 30th December, 1296, formally nominating Louis to the see of Toulouse. It is printed in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV.[2]

(5) Although I have not come across any letter written by S. Louis, except one written jointly with two of his brothers in 1286, his will has come down to us. This is printed in Appendix B.

Finally, mention must be made of two early fourteenth-century sermons by a Provençal Franciscan preacher, Friar Francis of Meyronnes, who died somewhere about the year 1325. These, together with many other sermons on saints, were published at Venice in 1493, under the title *Sermones de laudibus Sanctorum*. The first and more important sermon contains the earliest statement which we possess with regard to the birthplace of Louis. It has been reprinted in *A.O.M.C.*, XIII, 307-315, from a MS. in the Biblioteca Casanatensis in Rome. Possibly the sermons were preached at the time of Louis' canonisation in 1317.

Leaving contemporary documents of which S. Louis is the central theme, we must now turn to a consideration of certain others which have a general bearing on the subject. Of these by far the most important for the whole period of Louis' life are the wonderful series of Angevin Registers preserved in the

note I find that the editor of the *Vita S. Ludovici* in *A.O.M.C.*, XIII, discusses the question of these "Lives" (340-342) and comes to the conclusion that the belief in them was based upon the passages in Ridolfi's book. He further concludes that Ridolfi was referring to witnesses in the Process of Canonisation. But he was unable to prove his point, for he did not know where the Process was. Thus he can only make (not very successful) conjectures as to the identity of the first three witnesses.

[1] No. 257, 111-114 (1898). [2] No. 103.

State Archives at Naples. These *Registri Angioini* are perhaps one of the most splendid collections of archives that have come down to us from the Middle Ages and are of especial value to those interested in the first three kings of the Angevin dynasty, Charles I, Charles II, and Robert, whose combined reigns cover the years 1265-1343. The documents fall into two distinct sections, namely the Registers proper, consisting of the Registers of the Chamber and the Registers of the Chancery, and the accounts of the Treasury and Household. A first-hand examination of the archives, such as has not been possible in my case, might possibly yield to patient research new details about Louis' household expenses, etc. It might possibly clear up the mystery of the identity of John of Orta.

Although the Registers stand in the very foremost rank of Italian archives, unrivalled by any except those belonging to the Vatican, it is a striking circumstance that they were extraordinarily little known even fifty years ago. This neglect was due to two causes. In the first place, the spirit of the Resorgimento was hostile to the study of the history of an alien dynasty, while even after prejudice had died away, more purely Italian states still continued to arouse greater interest. In the second place, the condition of the archives was, fifty years ago at any rate, deplorable, and the system of classification then employed seems only to have served to render confusion worse confounded. From the days of Lellis, a Neapolitan antiquary who made an invaluable summary of the contents of the Registers in 1680, no scholar appears to have attempted their study till Camillo Minieri Riccio began his work upon them in the 'forties of the last century. Riccio is the greatest exception to the rule of Italian indifference to the Angevins ; he may be said to have devoted his life to the examination of their history. His reconstruction of the reign of Charles I entitled *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò*, published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Series III and IV), and based almost entirely upon the Registers, affords glimpses of the way in which Louis' early childhood was passed before he left Naples. The initiation of the *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane* in 1876, to which Riccio contributed many valuable articles, gave some impetus to the study of this neglected period

in Neapolitan history and drew attention to the Angevin archives. Inspired by Riccio, another scholar, Giudice, conceived the idea of publishing a vast selection of the documents belonging to the reigns of Charles I and Charles II under the title of *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I e Carlo II d'Angiò*, but unfortunately death prevented the completion of this monumental work, which, instead of going up to 1309, as planned, stops short with the first volume in 1270. Riccio, however, carried on the idea in his *Saggio di codice diplomatico* [1] and *Studii Storici fatti sopra* 84 *Registri Angioini dell' Archivio di Stato di Napoli*,[2] which together cover a range of nearly two hundred years. I have found these volumes, which are at present the best source of original material available to the student working at a distance from Naples, of the utmost value. It is to be wished that further selections might be published for the benefit of those who cannot themselves delve among the almost bewildering mass of material preserved at Naples.

One other Italian scholar who did much for Angevin history should be mentioned, namely Capasso, keeper of the archives at the close of the nineteenth century, who planned the publication of the entire series of Registers and published in 1894 a systematic chronological inventory which must be the foundation of all future work on the subject.

After Riccio had been at work for some years French scholars seem suddenly to have awakened to the importance of the Neapolitan Angevins from the point of view of their own national history, and so we get the excellent work of Paul Durrieu, whose book, *Les Archives Angevines de Naples*,[3] is not only a minute and illuminating study of the Registers of Charles I, but the best introduction to the study of the Registers in general. He was followed by Léon Cadier, who made a special study of Angevin administration, a study which has brought considerable credit to the dynasty.

For the period of the detention of Louis and his brothers in Catalonia the State Archives preserved at Barcelona are, of course, of the first importance. The series of Registers of the

[1] Two volumes and a supplement (1878-1883).
[2] 1876.
[3] 2 vols. (1886-1887).

Crown of Aragon, which may be compared for their excellence to the Angevin Registers, supply some interesting documents dealing with the subject of the royal Angevin hostages. Here, again, I have not been able to study the original documents, but fortunately the work of the German scholar, H. Finke, has made the more important of them accessible in print. His three admirable volumes of *Acta Aragonensia*[1] begin with the reign of James II of Aragon in the year 1291. The tantalising glimpses of the princes which they afford certainly incline one to a more intimate study of the Barcelona archives.

Since Finke's book does not begin till 1291, the negotiations connected with the Treaty of Canfranc (1288) by which Louis and his brothers were handed over to James's predecessor, Alfonso III, are necessarily excluded. The documents dealing with Edward I's important share in the transaction, however, will be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, from which we get frequent mention of Louis and his brothers between the years 1286 and 1288.

These, then, are the chief primary sources for the life of S. Louis of Toulouse. The non-contemporary, as distinct from modern authorities, can be dismissed more briefly. There are, first, two late fourteenth-century works which give accounts of him, namely the *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*[2] and Bartholomew of Pisa's *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*[3] The former work, the greater part of which was finished before 1369, gives short notices of S. Louis under the chief dates in his career, 1289 [*sic*], 1296, and 1297. The translation is erroneously assigned to 1317. A good deal of space is occupied by an account of Louis' miracles, those after about 1320 being generally dated with precision and being of interest as showing where his cult was observed at this period. Bartholomew of Pisa's *De Conformitate* is considerably the more important authority of the two, although rather later in date, not being completed till about 1399. It is interesting to notice that

[1] 1908 and 1922. [2] Printed in *A.F.*, III (1897).

[3] Printed in *A.F.*, IV (1906) and V (1912). The account of S. Louis is contained in Lib. I, conf. viii, pars. 2.

Bartholomew of Pisa had evidently had access to the Process of Canonisation. For instance he writes: (1) "Suae virginitatis testes fuerunt fratres qui ipsum nutrierunt; qui in sua iacebant camera, et sibi a pueritia astiterunt et ipsum angelicae puritatis fuisse testimonium reddiderunt." (2) "Perhibuerunt etiam [testimonium] nobiles viri cum fratribus praedictis, quod nunquam, ex quo natus est, usque ad vigesimum quartum annum, quo decessit, ab eius ore exivit verbum nec iocose nec seriose unum lascivum." (3) "Nam, ut de hoc testabatur rex Robertus et eius frater ac domicelli sui nobilissimi, qui in sua iacebant camera cum esset parvulus et tenellus, omni tempore postquam servitores sui recesserant, surgebat de lecto." (4) "Nam, ut testis fuit rex Robertus et alii, qui praesentes fuerunt, cum semel in coena Domini. . . ." (5) "De ipso post eius mortem nobilissimi viri, qui eum agnoverant ab initio vitae suae usque ad finem, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, testimonium perhibuerunt. . . ." It is to Bartholomew that we owe the categorical statement that the famous Franciscan friar, Poncius Carbonelli, was tutor to Louis in Catalonia; and as this information (which is almost certainly incorrect) does not come from the Process, it is clear that Bartholomew was relying upon other sources as well.

Alvarus Pelagius, in his *De Planctu Ecclesie* (1330-1334), has an anecdote of the excessive modesty of S. Louis, but this is scarcely sufficient ground for designating him an authority.

Passing over the fifteenth century, which produced no writer on S. Louis of Toulouse, we next come to Pietro Ridolfi, already mentioned as the innocent cause of a tiresome error. His Life of S. Louis, contained in his *Historiarum Seraphicae Religionis Liber Primus* (1586), is brief and to the point, and certainly deserves to be considered of service as directing attention to the original sources on which it is based, namely the Process and Bull of Canonisation. As need hardly be stated, those two great collections, Franciscan and hagiographical, the *Annales Ordinis Minorum* of Wadding (1636), and the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (August, III, 1737), have each an account of Louis. That by Pinius in the latter work is useful, and shows more critical power than it is usual to find in the earlier volumes of the *Acta*.

Finally, a few words must be said about modern Lives of Saint Louis. Of these several exist, but all save one are more or less mere panegyrics designed for the edification of the faithful and of little value as historical biography. The exception—the only one which has any claims to be taken very seriously—is the Abbé Verlaque's *Vie de Saint Louis, Prince Royal, Évêque de Toulouse, et la Famille d'Anjou au Treizième Siècle* (1885). This little book, although it contains some serious mistakes, suffers from a certain sentimentality of style, and has rather too many pious reflections, is, nevertheless, the result of a good deal of research among the Angevin archives at Naples and of investigation of other original documents. The author has, perhaps, relied too much upon John of Orta, but this is the more understandable when we realise that Verlaque was not acquainted with the Process of Canonisation, and that he virtually discovered the manuscript of the Life in the British Museum. We undoubtedly owe the Bollandists' edition of John of Orta to the fact that Verlaque drew attention to this codex. In this way he has done a great service to all students of S. Louis, while his profuse quotations, with their careful references, from the Angevin Registers add greatly to the value of his book. To these quotations I have had constant occasion to refer.

We may shortly expect a new French study of S. Louis from the pen of Canon Vielle of Toulouse.

So much for authorities on the life of S. Louis himself. It remains to say a few words about those which I have employed in dealing with the subject of canonisation. As already stated in the Introduction, the standard, and, indeed, the only work which deals with it, is Benedict XIV's *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*,[1] written when he was Cardinal Prospero Lambertini. As an active member for many years of the Congregation of Rites,[2] Lambertini was excellently qualified for his task, and his great knowledge and learning are apparent from the most superficial examination of his work. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the early history of canonisation, the *De Servorum Dei* . . . has three serious drawbacks. In the

[1] 1734-1738.

[2] He was appointed assessor in 1712.

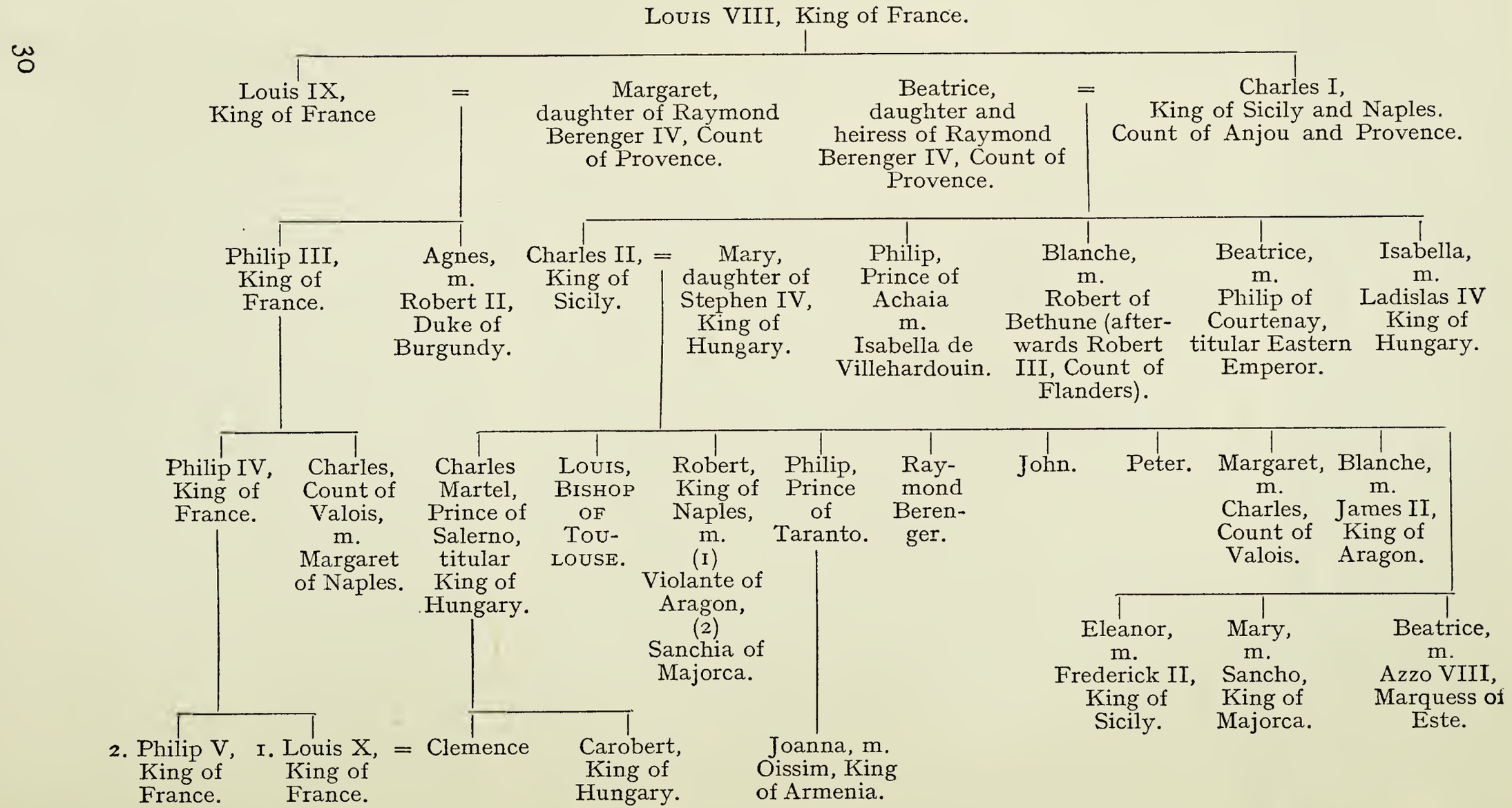
first place, Lambertini was essentially a lawyer and possessed of his full share of legal credulity and passion for tracing out a logical sequence of events. This makes him ready to accept any authorities, however dubious or late, if their statements bear out the general line of development in which he wishes to believe. In the second place, as is natural enough, he was far more interested in the modern developments of canonisation, with the workings of which he was himself familiar, than with the early stages of its procedure. Thus he devotes chapters to a discussion of Urban VIII's constitutions of 1625 and 1634, which laid down the procedure in cases of canonisation which, with slight modifications, is in force to-day, while the early history is more rapidly passed over. At the same time, the illustrations for his various themes are taken from all periods. Moreover, Lambertini, with the contempt which it has been common for all writers, until quite recent years, to throw upon the Avignonese Popes and their works, has passed over the fourteenth century as of little account in the history of the development of canonisation. Lastly, he is not always by any means accurate. It is not only that an investigation of his authorities—which, in justice to Lambertini, it should be stated that he never fails to enumerate—sometimes shows them to be no authorities, but his slips are not infrequent and rather aggravating. Nevertheless, scanty, uncritical, and somewhat inaccurate as it is, Lambertini's sketch of the early history of canonisation is indispensable as a groundwork and exceedingly illuminating even on account of its mistakes.

In 1729 Giusto Fontanini, Archbishop of Ancyra, published a book entitled *Codex Constitutionum quas Summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemni canonizatione Sanctorum.* This book is a careful selection of the more important Bulls of Canonisation promulgated by Popes from John XV to Benedict XIII, and serves as an excellent companion to Lambertini's work, the first volume of which appeared five years later.

With regard to other authorities which I have consulted, it need hardly be said that the *Acta Sanctorum* has proved of great service as a source for Processes of Canonisation. But while acknowledging my debt to the Bollandists in this respect, it may

be remarked, in passing, that their provoking method of re-arranging documents is greatly to be regretted.

In conclusion it need only be said that, as the authorities for the second part of my study, including my final chapter on the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse, are particular rather than general, and are in every case given in the notes, I shall not attempt to state them here.


Louis VIII, King of France.
Louis IX, King of France
=
Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Provence.
Beatrice, daughter and heiress of Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Provence.
=
Charles I, King of Sicily and Naples. Count of Anjou and Provence.
Philip III, King of France.
Agnes, m. Robert II, Duke of Burgundy.
Charles II, King of Sicily.
=
Mary, daughter of Stephen IV, King of Hungary.
Philip, Prince of Achaia m. Isabella de Villehardouin.
Blanche, m. Robert of Bethune (afterwards Robert III, Count of Flanders).
Beatrice, m. Philip of Courtenay, titular Eastern Emperor.
Isabella, m. Ladislas IV King of Hungary.
Philip IV, King of France.
Charles, Count of Valois, m. Margaret of Naples.
Charles Martel, Prince of Salerno, titular King of Hungary.
Louis, Bishop of Toulouse.
Robert, King of Naples, m. (1) Violante of Aragon, (2) Sanchia of Majorca.
Philip, Prince of Taranto.
Raymond Berenger.
John.
Peter.
Margaret, m. Charles, Count of Valois.
Blanche, m. James II, King of Aragon.
Eleanor, m. Frederick II, King of Sicily.
Mary, m. Sancho, King of Majorca.
Beatrice, m. Azzo VIII, Marquess of Este.
2. Philip V, King of France.
1. Louis X, King of France.
=
Clemence
Carobert, King of Hungary.
Joanna, m. Oissim, King of Armenia.

PART I.

LIFE OF S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

I.

PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND CHILDHOOD IN PROVENCE, 1274-1288.

It is a fact not without interest that the two princes of the thirteenth century upon one of whom has been bestowed the greatest praise, on the other perhaps the greatest obloquy, should have been brothers, the eldest and youngest sons respectively of Louis VIII of France. It would, perhaps, be difficult to find a greater contrast than that presented by S. Louis, King of France, and Charles, Count of Anjou and Provence, King of Sicily. If the image of the latter as a monster of cruelty and oppression, which was created by Sicilian patriotism and cherished as late as the last century, has been largely shattered by more recent students of his reign,[1] yet he was, without doubt, the most restlessly and ruthlessly ambitious sovereign of his age. Nevertheless, it was this turbulent Charles who was the grandfather of another S. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, and the subject of this study; while the grandson of "le bon roi," Louis IX, was that Philip IV who is designated by Dante "the new Pilate" and "the curse of France." [2]

The career of Charles was a succession of strokes of good fortune from the beginning. Louis VIII, by his will, assigned appanages to all his sons except the youngest, whom he had destined for the Church. But the early death in 1232 of the

[1] Léon Cadier, *Essai sur l'administration du Royaume de Sicile* (1891).
[2] *Purgatorio*, Canto XX, l. 91, and Canto VII, l. 109.

third boy, John, transferred his inheritance of Anjou and Maine to Charles, the fifth and youngest son, Alfonse, the fourth, retaining his appanage of Poitou.[1] Thus well-provided for from childhood, the Count of Anjou's marriage in 1246 with Beatrice, youngest daughter and heiress of Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Provence, laid the real foundations of his subsequent success. Undisputed ruler of the County of Provence from 1247, in the eighteen years that elapsed before his descent on Southern Italy he had extended his sphere of influence by the subjugation of Marseilles and by gaining the control of certain Piedmontese communes. In 1265 his ambition lured him on to accept the tempting offer, first made by Urban IV, and now renewed by his successor, Clement IV, to assume the rôle of papal champion, destroy the papal enemy, Manfred, and receive as his reward the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples from the papal hands. The victory of Tagliacozzo and the execution of Conradin in 1268 established his sway, and in 1277, by the fortunate purchase of her rights from Mary of Antioch, Charles was enabled to add to his other titles the one which, perhaps, appealed more than any other to the mediæval mind, namely that of King of Jerusalem. Still his lust for power and dominion was not sated. The Eastern Empire, lately the prey of Latin adventurers, seems to have exercised a strong fascination over him, and it was only the fateful Vespers of 1282 that cut short his plans for the overthrow of Michael Palaeologus.

It is hardly surprising that, with an ambition so soaring, Charles should have resorted to the time-honoured practice of arranging advantageous marriage-alliances for his children as a means of increasing his power. By his first marriage he had five who survived infancy. Of these, his eldest daughter, Blanche, was married by 1266 to Robert of Flanders;[2] his second son, Philip, became the husband, in 1271, of Isabella de Villehardouin, heiress of the principate of Achaia and the Morea;[3] while two years later Beatrice, his second daughter, became the wife of Philip of Courtenay, son of the deposed Latin Emperor

[1] E. Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alfonse de Poitiers*, 41 (1870).
[2] C. Minieri Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo I d'Angiò*, 32 and 156 (1857).
[3] *Op. cit.*, 28.

Baldwin II.[1] Charles laid his toils carefully in the East. For his two remaining children, his eldest son, Charles the Lame, and his youngest daughter, Isabella, the King sought alliances in rather a different direction.

The defeat of Conradin left Charles with a mind free to consider the important question of a bride for his heir. It was characteristic of him that his thoughts turned towards Hungary. That country had lately been distracted by civil war between Bela IV and his son, Stephen. Although they were now outwardly reconciled through papal pressure, Hungary was still far from being at one. It seemed to offer plentiful openings for Angevin influence. Accordingly, in 1269 negotiations were entered into for the double marriage of Charles of Sicily and Mary, daughter of Stephen IV, now joint king with his father, and of her eldest brother, Ladislas of Hungary, with the Angevin princess, Isabella.[2] In June two Hungarian Dominicans arrived in Apulia, followed in September by further ambassadors from Stephen, while, by the close of 1269, matters had proceeded so far that Charles' representatives were dispatched to the Hungarian court to conclude the alliances, and the King gave orders to his treasurer, Peter of Beaumont, to bring his children out of Provence to Naples. On Palm Sunday, 1270, Mary of Hungary, accompanied by a considerable train, which included her future father-in-law's ambassadors, arrived at Zara, whence she was conveyed in a special galley, sent by Charles I, to Apulia.[3] The exact date of the marriage of Charles and Mary cannot be determined, but as the King left Italy for the fatal Tunis crusade at the beginning of July, it probably took place in May or June, the unfortunate Isabella leaving her home to be united to the vicious Ladislas some time towards the end of the summer.[4] Thus were consummated alliances which were to bring the crown of Hungary to the Neapolitan House of Anjou in the third generation, and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 34.

[2] M. Schipa, *Carlo Martello*, in *Archivio storico per le province Napoletane*, XIV, 25 (1889).

[3] C. M. Riccio, *Della Dominazione Angioina nel Reame di Sicilia*, 11 (1876), and *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo I*, 117 (1874); and M. Schipa, *op. cit.*, 28.

[4] Schipa, *op. cit.*, 29.

to produce far-reaching results upon the descendants of Charles and Mary.

Charles the Lame, afterwards Charles II of Sicily,[1] was born about 1250, perhaps as late as 1254. He was, at any rate, quite young at the time of his marriage, as he does not appear to have taken part in his father's expedition to Southern Italy in 1265, and was not made a knight till 1272. It was at Whitsuntide of this latter year that he and his younger brother, Philip, together with a number of noble youths, received that order, the ceremony being an occasion of great rejoicing and Charles being granted by his father the Principate of Salerno, the County of Lesina, and the Honour of Monte Sant' Angelo.[2] From that date till Charles I's death in 1285 he was always known by his title of Prince of Salerno. Of his character at this time we know little, but in 1271, 1272, 1273, and 1276 he acted as Vicar-General during his father's absence from the kingdom.[3]

Mary of Hungary, Princess of Salerno, descended on her father's side from the Hungarian national hero, Andrew II, and herself a great-niece of S. Elizabeth, seems to have been a devout woman, a founder of convents, of one of which in Naples her sister eventually became prioress. From occasional references in the Angevin Registers it may be gathered that she was solicitous for her children's material welfare, and it is probable that, as they grew older, she played a considerable part in the direction of their spiritual education. Mary bore her husband nine sons and five daughters.

Louis, the future saint and Bishop of Toulouse, was the second son of the Prince and Princess of Salerno. We are able, for the Middle Ages, to date his birth with considerable precision. John of Orta tells us that the course of S. Louis' whole life was twenty-three years and six months,[4] and as we know that he died on 19th August, 1297, this puts his birth, without any question, in Feb-

[1] I have called him King of Sicily throughout, as he was always so styled, although in reality he only ruled in Naples.

[2] C. M. Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I negli anni* 1271-1272, 58 and 63 (1875). Saba Malaspina, *Rerum Sicularum Historia*, Bk. V, c. 4, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VIII, 863 (1726).

[3] P. Durrieu, *Les Archives Angevines de Naples*, I, c. 7.

[4] *Vita S. Ludovici Episcopi Tolosani*, c. 51, in *A.B.*, IX, 320 (1890).

ruary, 1274. So much for the date of Louis' birth, which is simple enough. The place where the event occurred has long been a matter of dispute. Provence and Italy have each been eager to claim the saint as its own, and curiously enough, it is not possible to call in the aid of the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis, which maintains a strange silence on the subject, to decide between the disputants.

The two places which have put forward claims to be the birthplace of S. Louis of Toulouse are Brignoles, in Provence, and Nocera dei Pagani, not far from Salerno, in Southern Italy. On the face of it, each has as good a claim as the other, for Brignoles was a favourite resort of the Counts of Provence, and of Charles II in particular, whom we often find staying in the Count's house there; while Nocera dei Pagani, or Nocera Cristiani, as it is termed in the Registers, was one of the Angevin royal castles to which the children of the Prince of Salerno were sometimes sent.

Of modern writers on S. Louis, the Provençal claim has secured the adherence, among others, of Pinius, Vicenza, and Verlaque. Pinius, in his prefatory Life of the saint in the *Acta Sanctorum*,[1] relies, for his assertion that S. Louis was born at Brignoles, on the statement of Francis of Meyronnes, a learned Provençal Franciscan, who died *c.* 1325, contained in a sermon on S. Louis.[2] Vicenza, in his Life,[3] quotes from the same source. Speaking of the advantages of Louis' birth, Meyronnes says: "The fourth was in the place of his birth in the land which the Lord has sanctified beyond all other places of the world by those saints who saw the face of Christ with their bodily eyes. In the region, indeed, of his birth are found seven of whom mention is made in Holy Writ, as having seen Christ, that is, Lazarus with his two sisters, and the two sisters of the Mother of the Lord, and Theophilus, . . . and the man born blind." All these saints are connected by tradition with Provence. Further on in the sermon we read: "The sixth contemplation is concerning the manner of his death,

[1] August, III, 776, Antwerp (1737).

[2] Published with other sermons on saints, Venice (1493). For Francis of Meyronnes himself see *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXVI, 305-342 (1927).

[3] *Vita di San Lodovico*, 69, n., Quaracchi (2nd ed., 1895).

because absolutely in the same place and house where he was born there he died, in the fashion of a circle, which ends where it begins." [1] Verlaque [2] is contented with a seventeenth-century document in the Communal Archives of Brignoles, which can be set aside as of little value.[3] The testimony of Meyronnes does, on the other hand, appear to be almost contemporary evidence in favour, not only of Provence, but of Brignoles, where, in the Count's house, Louis died ; and the more important would it appear to be in face of the fact that we have no such definite statement of the same date in regard to Nocera.

It is not till the sixteenth century that we find Nocera given as Louis' birthplace. Ridolfi [4] merely tells us that " B. Louis was born, it is said, at Nocera Pagani, where a little chapel has been erected in his honour." A little later he contradicts himself by saying that Louis fell ill "at Brignoles in the King's house where he was born and educated." [5] In the following century Luke Wadding [6] repeats the statement that Louis was born at Nocera, but cites no authority for his assertion. Nevertheless, there are certain important simple facts which must prevent us from accepting without hesitation the categorical statement of Meyronnes. In the first place, and most significant of all, there does not seem to be any record of a journey of the Prince and Princess of Salerno to Provence before 1279. As far as negative evidence goes that tends to prove that Louis cannot have been born there. Secondly, it is noticeable that his nurse was an Italian, a woman called Seria, Serena, or Sibilia, wife of a certain Thomas of Argentolo, a marine pilot of the port of Brindisi,[7] who in 1298, after Louis' death, was given a yearly

[1] *Sermones de laudibus Sanctorum*, 101 *et seq.*

[2] *Saint Louis, Prince Royal, Évêque de Toulouse*, 1-2, n. 1 (1885).

[3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* Request presented by the *pénitents noirs* of Brignoles, 10th December, 1612, in which they declare " qu'il est très asseuré, ainsi qu'on justiffie par les saincts cahyers, que M. sainct Loys . . . a prins sa naissance en la présente ville de Brignolles, et dans le pallais où de présent s' administre la justice . . ."

[4] *Historiarum Seraphicae Religionis Liber Primus*, 120^{v}, Venice (1586).

[5] *Ibid.*, 122.

[6] *Annales Minorum*, 1275, IV, iv, 418. Riccio also upholds the claims of Nocera. See *S. Ludovico d'Angiò*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 58 (1882).

[7] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 10.

grant by Charles II, in gratitude for her services to his son as a child.[1] It is unlikely that, had Louis been born in Provence, he would have had a Neapolitan nurse, for his younger brother, Raymond Berenger, who was almost certainly born in the County, was reared by a woman of Aix. Then, again, in the Angevin Registers,[2] under date 11th July, 1274, we find Charles I writing to the *secretus* (administrator) of the Principate, Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi, that "by his order, the knight, Nicholas de Reginet, with his wife and twelve servants, is to betake himself to the castle of Nocera Cristiani to have the care and charge of the sons of the Prince of Salerno, his eldest son, who are staying in that castle." Thus it seems clear that Louis, at five months old at any rate, was living in the castle designated by Ridolfi and Wadding as his birthplace. Finally, from the Process of Canonisation [3] we learn that Louis was in Naples at the age of three, and left to be educated in Provence two years later. There is no hint of this journey having been a return to the land of his birth.

Such is the available evidence for the two claims respectively. If that of Provence seems to carry greater weight, it must be remembered that the idea that his birthplace was Brignoles would spring very naturally from the fact that Louis was brought up in Provence from the age of five to that of fourteen; that he died at Brignoles and was buried at Marseilles, while nearly all his miracles are recorded as having taken place within the confines of the County. Louis was, in fact, far more intimately connected with Provence than with Naples, where he only passed one year of his adult life. His Neapolitan origin might easily have been forgotten. Is not the silence of the Process of Canonisation somewhat significant? When one considers that the movement for Louis' canonisation was initiated in Provence and that the proceedings were carried on at Marseilles, it seems strange that, had he been born at Brignoles, the fact should nowhere be mentioned.

[1] Verlaque, *op. cit., loc. cit.*, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1298, D, n. 94, f. 195.

[2] Quoted by Riccio in his *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Series III, vol. 23, 234 (1876).

[3] *Processus Canonizationis*, 93. Testimony of Lambert, Witness 16.

The boy, who had an elder brother, Charles, born in 1271, the Charles Martel of Dante's *Paradiso*, seems from the first to have been the object of his parents' special hopes. It was on this account, we read, that he received the name of Louis, in memory of the saintly King, his great-uncle, whose example they always steadfastly kept before the young prince, in the hope that he would imitate it.[1] Their expectations were the more reasonable since the Princess of Salerno also had the blood of saints in her veins. Unlike most such fond hopes those of Charles and Mary were marvellously fulfilled, although not, as will be seen, entirely to the satisfaction of the former.

The first few years of Louis' life must have been passed at one or more of the royal castles in the neighbourhood of Naples between which the children of the Prince of Salerno appear to have divided their time. When their grandfather wished to have them near the capital they were lodged at the fortress of Salvatore a mare di Napoli,[2] commonly called Castel dell' Ovo, situated on a small rocky island to the south of the city. When Naples became too hot a favourite castle was Somma, oddly enough close to Vesuvius, where Charles would send them with their little court to pass the whole of the summer months for the sake of the better and healthier air—"pro meliori et salubriori statu."[3] Other resorts were Nocera and Monteforte, near Avellino.[4]

The children of the Prince of Salerno appear to have had a separate household from that of their parents even before the departure of the latter for Provence in 1279. This household was shared in common with their cousin, Catharine of Courtenay, daughter of Philip of Courtenay, titular Emperor of Constantinople, and his wife, Beatrice of Anjou, who was sent to Italy in 1279 to be brought up with her cousins. After 1282 it was further increased by the arrival of Charles Martel's little betrothed, Clemence of Hapsburg. As early as 1275 we learn that Nicholas

[1] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 2, in *A.B.*, IX, 282.

[2] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series III, vol. 24, 400 (1876), quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1275, B, n. 23, f. 27.

[3] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 4, 9 (1879), quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1281, B, n. 42, f. 16.

[4] Schipa, *Carlo Martello*, in *A.S.P.N.*, XIV, 205.

Druget (possibly another version of the name Nicholas de Reginet, already mentioned) was tutor to the sons of the Prince of Salerno,[1] while in 1279 Stephen de la Forêt, knight of the household of Charles I,[2] was master of the household.[3] John of Us, afterwards Archdeacon of Beaugency in the diocese of Orleans, states that he taught Louis the alphabet at the age of three or four and instructed him in the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*.[4]

In the autumn of 1279 the Prince of Salerno, accompanied by his wife, left Naples for Provence at the head of a considerable fleet in the capacity of Vicar-General for Charles I. He remained absent from Italy for nearly three years, returning thither in 1282. All the evidence tends to prove that it was in 1279 and not, as Minieri Riccio states,[5] in 1282, that Louis and his next brother, Robert (born in 1278), went into Provence for their education. No record of the boys' actual journey is to be found in the Angevin Registers, but Riccio, in support of his theory that they were sent in 1282, cites a leaf from a document belonging to the series, dated 21 December, 1283. In this document the Prince of Salerno writes from Naples to the Seneschal of Provence, ordering him to pay "William of Miliard," master of the household of his sons who are "remaining in Provence," the money necessary for their expenses.[6] These sons were, as we know from other evidence, Louis, Robert, and Raymond Bèrenger, the fifth boy. The last was born, it is safe to assume, during his parents' sojourn in Provence, since he had a Provençal nurse and was the only one of the Prince of Salerno's children called by a distinctively Provençal name. They all remained

[1] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series III, vol. 24, 397 and 406.

[2] 1278-1282. P. Durrieu, *Archives Angevines de Naples*, II, 320.

[3] Riccio, *op. cit.*, in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 2, 359 (1878).

[4] *P.C.*, 82. Testimony of John of Us, Witness 13. Bermundus de Roca, Witness 2, on the other hand, gives the names of two French priests as instructing Louis and his brothers in the rudiments of religion and learning, and in Provence too (*P.C.*, 33). It is possible that John of Us forgot the exact age Louis was when he began to teach him and that he also was his master in Provence and not in Naples. He speaks as though he had been under Louis' Provençal governor, Manoir.

[5] Articles on S. Louis and Robert of Calabria in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 58 and 201.

[6] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 5, 364 (1880), quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1284, B, n. 48, f. 126^{v}.

beyond the Alps until their father's misfortunes sent them as hostages to Aragon in 1288. Now the leaf from which Riccio quotes was lost at the time at which he was writing. He says that he studied and noted it in 1853 but most unfortunately did not transcribe it.[1] All that remains is the summary of the seventeenth-century Neapolitan antiquary Lellis,[2] and from this, and from the fact that Riccio makes a bad blunder in saying that Charles Martel, who never left Naples, was one of the sons sent, Schipa [3] has concluded that Riccio misread, or maybe forgot, the exact purport of the document after the lapse of many years, and that it referred to the sons of the Prince of Salerno in general, and meant that in 1282 they were remaining in Provence after their parents' departure and not that they were sent there for the first time at that date. Indeed, in the substance of the lost leaf as given by Riccio,[4] there is not a word of any journey in 1282. At the same time Schipa offers no suggestion as to the year in which Louis and Robert left Naples.

On this question of Louis' journey, however, as on so many other rather obscure points, the Process of Canonisation, which was unknown to Riccio and Schipa, throws some important light. From the testimony of Lambert, described as a layman of Paris, forty years old, who was a boy in Louis' service all the time he was in Provence, we get the following quite definite piece of information. Lambert saw Louis as a child of three (that is in 1277) at Naples. "Afterwards," he continues, "Lord Louis grew there for two years, so that when he had completed his fifth year, he was taken by sea to Provence, and landed at Nice." [5] This can mean nothing else than that Louis and Robert (whom we know to have shared Louis' education) left Naples in 1279; moreover, we know that it was by sea that the Prince and Princess of Salerno made their journey to the County in that year.[6] Again, Lambert distinctly says that Louis was about *nine* years in Provence. As he left in 1288 this again points to 1279 as the year of his arrival. That Louis was in Provence in 1280 we learn from another witness, the knight Raymond de Bancon, who says that

[1] *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 58. [2] *Notamenta*, II, 1248, quoted by Riccio.
[3] *Carlo Martello*, in *A.S.P.N.*, XIV, 234-235, n. 2.
[4] *Il Regno di Carlo I d'Angiò*, already quoted. [5] *P.C.*, 93.
[6] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 2, 356.

he saw Louis at Aix and Brignoles when the boy was six years old.[1]

Even, however, if the testimony of these two witnesses is not considered sufficient evidence, it will be seen, on closer examination of the facts, that everything points to the year 1279. In the first place, it would seem natural that Louis and Robert should accompany their father and mother who, while leaving the future heir in Naples, would wish to have some of their children in Provence ; or, if we assume that Charles I had already decided that his younger grandsons should be educated in the County, there can have been no better opportunity for their departure in an age when long journeys, as distinct from the ordinary periodic transference of the household, were so great an undertaking, especially for young children. Moreover, in 1282 the boys' grandfather would have been too much occupied with the Sicilian rebellion to have had leisure to consider their affairs. Again, it is significant that Philip, the fourth son of Charles and Mary of Salerno, born presumably in the first half of 1279, was never sent to Provence. If Louis and Robert went in 1282 there is no reason why he should not have accompanied them ; but on the supposition that they left Italy in the year of his birth, it is easy to see that he would have been considered too young for the long voyage. Finally, a very convincing piece of negative evidence is the fact that in the entries in the Registers relating to the Prince of Salerno's children after 1279 there is no mention of Louis or Robert.[2] We may, therefore, conclude almost certainly

[1] *P.C.*, 96. At the same time I am bound to admit that Bermundus de Roca says that, when he accompanied Louis and Robert to Catalonia in 1288, he had been six and a half years with them in Provence, and that their tutor, John de Bimaret, had taught them for about the same length of time (*P.C.*, 33). This certainly looks like the constitution of a household in 1282, but may there not have been a *reconstitution* when the Prince and Princess of Salerno returned to Naples in that year ?

[2] Thus on 24th March, 1281, Charles I orders that Stephen de la Forêt shall be provided with everything necessary for the maintenance of Philip and Margaret, children of the Prince of Salerno, Charles, his eldest son, and Catherine of Courtenay. Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 4, 7, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1280, A, n. 38, f. 44^{v}. Again, on 31st May of the same year, it is Charles, his sister, and cousin, who are given an escort to Somma ; the names of Louis and Robert do not occur ; nor do they on 6th October, 1282, when Charles I gives minute directions about the clothes he

that the boys went to Provence in 1279, and that when their parents returned to Naples in September, 1282, they were left behind with the little Raymond Berenger.

Both Charles I and Charles II after him seem to have been very anxious to maintain close ties with their trans-Alpine possessions. After 1290 the cession of Anjou and Maine to Charles of Valois, as the marriage portion of Louis' eldest sister, Margaret, left Charles II with Provence upon which to concentrate his undivided attention. He himself was frequently there, and his communications with the Seneschal were constant,[1] but Charles seems to have considered that the greatest incentive to loyalty which he could give the Provençals would be the upbringing in their midst of some members of his numerous family. In this he resembled Lorenzo de' Medici in the fifteenth century who, realising the power of the human element on men's minds, strove to make his children's education at Careggi and Caiano a link between Florence and the country. We find that it was not only Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger who were chosen to gratify the patriotic feelings of the County by learning its language and customs in their early childhood. After the boys' enforced departure to Catalonia, Charles II's two elder daughters were sent into Provence in 1289,[2] Blanche, the second one, remaining there till her marriage with James of Aragon six years later. Of his younger children, John and Peter, the seventh and eighth sons, left their mother's care in 1305 [3] for Provence, while Beatrice, the youngest daughter, had a Provençal nurse, so it is probable that she was born in the County, and she was, we know, educated at the Convent of Nazareth at Aix, founded by her father.[4]

For the next nine years, then, Louis and his two brothers

wishes to present on All Saints' Day to Charles, Clemence, Philip, Margaret, Catherine of Courtenay, and their suites. Riccio, *op. cit.*, 9, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1281, B, n. 42, f. 16. Barone, *La Ratio Thesaurariorum della Cancilleria Angioina,* in *A.S.P.N.*, XI, 6 (1886). It is impossible that if Louis and Robert had been in Italy they should not have shared in these gifts.

[1] Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico, passim.*

[2] Riccio, *Studii Storici fatti sopra* 84 *Registri Angioini,* 20.

[3] *Op. cit.,* 15 and 21.

[4] Abbé J. P. Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence,* III, 114 (1784).

remained in Provence. Brignoles, on the River Caranne, a town situated in the south-east of Provence, was probably their headquarters in the County. Here the Counts of Provence had a house, built in the twelfth century by the princes of the House of Aragon, and it appears to have been one of their favourite resorts.[1] Charles II was especially attached to Brignoles, and seems to have spent a large part of the year there during his vicariate of 1279-1282, while we find him staying in the town again in 1291, 1297, 1299, and 1306. César de Nostredame says that it was the customary place of education of the children of the Counts of Provence, and for this reason has been called the "Nurturer of Children." [2] It was undoubtedly on this account that Charles chose it as the chief residence of his sons. From a document of 1236, dealing with business between Count Raymond Berenger IV and a neighbouring monastery, we learn that the Count's house was at the side of the church of S. Saviour.[3] I believe that all that remains to-day is the annexe, now the subprefecture, built by the Counts because of the difficulty of access to the older house, which was merely kept to accommodate the servants who accompanied them during their visits to Brignoles. They themselves inhabited the newer building, rendered pleasant by a large garden laid out with shady walks.[4]

The household of the young Angevin princes, however, was not a stationary one, and they were constantly moving about from one important Provençal town to another. We hear of them at Aix, staying in the Count's house ; [5] at Sisteron,[6] at Mt. S. Victor, near Marseilles, where they visited the monks of the Benedictine abbey for two months when Louis was twelve

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 214. H. Bouche, *La Chorographie . . . de Provence*, I, 216 (1664).

[2] *Histoire et Chronique de Provence, Cinquième Partie*, 537 (1614). "Car il faut scavoir que ceste ville souloit estre le lieu dedié à la nourriture des jeunes Princes et des Princesses de Provence, et de leurs enfans. A raison dequoy elle a esté nommé des anciens Alumna puerorum."

[3] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 3, n. 1. The act is drawn up "Apud Brinoniam, in platea iuxta ecclesiam sancti Salvatoris ante portam domini comitis."

[4] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[5] *P.C.*, 65. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi, Witness 6.

[6] *P.C.*, 80. Testimony of Fr. William of S. Marcel, Witness 12.

years old,[1] and at Draguignan.[2] During the latter part of the boys' life in Provence, Barjols, a short distance to the north-west of Brignoles, seems to have been a place where they frequently took up their abode,[3] perhaps on account of its good air. Robert of Naples in 1322, after he became king, mindful of these visits, raised Barjols to the position of *chef de bailliage*.[4]

From the Process of Canonisation we are able to glean a very fairly complete idea of the life of Louis and his brothers in Provence. Evidently no pains were spared in their education, for all the witnesses who give evidence about this early period of Louis' career lay stress on two facts: first, that Charles I of Sicily was very particular that the boys of his family should be entrusted to the care of honourable knights and scholarly clerks; and secondly, that the little Angevins were brought up in exactly the same manner as was customary for the children of the Royal House of France. This latter circumstance was especially noticed by visitors to Provence conversant with the court of Paris. Great attention was paid both to manners and to the rudiments of learning, and everyone who saw the princes bore witness to their excellent training.

Louis, being only five years old, and his brother, Robert, a mere baby, at the time of their arrival in Provence, they would still be under the care of women. From the Angevin Registers, indeed, we learn that Raymond Berenger had as nurse a certain Adelasia de Pigone, of the city of Aix, who reared him and his brothers in Provence.[5] But in 1281 or 1282, probably at the time of the departure for Naples in the latter year of the Prince and Princess of Salerno, a fitting establishment was created for Louis, to be shared later on by his brothers as they outgrew the care of Adelasia and her assistants.

[1] *P.C.*, 119. Testimony of Fr. Peter de Ripa Alta.

[2] F. Mireur, *Les Anciens Couvents de Draguignan. Les Cordeliers*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études scientifiques et archéologiques de Draguignan*, XXV, 253 (1904-1905).

[3] *P.C.*, 107. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun, Witness 20.

[4] "Quod in ipso castro Barjolensi juventutis incrementa suscepimus." See J. F. Girardin, *Notice ou description historique du diocèse de Fréjus*, c. ix, 221 (1872).

[5] Matteo Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, II, 108 (1841). In 1303 Charles II grants her "quemdam furnum in feudum."

As was usual in the households of boy-princes of the thirteenth century, a governor, in the person of an elderly knight, was placed at the head, and to his charge the children were formally committed. This knight was a certain William de Manerio [of Manoir?], a Frenchman, from Reynardum [*sic*] in Normandy, who had filled a similar post about the person of Louis' father, the Prince of Salerno, during his minority.[1] All the witnesses describe him as being a very suitable person for his charge, an old man certainly, but upright, wise, and discreet. It was he who was responsible for the princes' morals and manners, who taught them to ride,[2] to receive guests with courtesy,[3] and who dealt out their punishments.[4] The rest of the princes' attendants and all their servants were, in their turn, responsible to William of Manoir, from whom they took their orders,[5] and in whose power it was to dismiss them for evil language or conduct.[6]

According to Riccio [7] and Verlaque,[8] in addition to their governor the princes had as master of their household a certain "Friar William of Miliard," a Franciscan, whose appointment, if we could feel sure of its reality, would be the first indication of that Minorite influence in the boyhood of Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger which was to have such lasting effects upon the two elder brothers and of which there will be much to say. But the only evidence for the existence of such a person is furnished by the lost leaf of the Angevin Registers already dealt with in connection with the subject of the journey of Louis and Robert to Provence. Besides the fact that "William of Miliard" is never mentioned in the Process of Canonisation, and that it would be a very unusual thing for a friar to be master of a royal household, the similarity of the names William of Manoir and William of Miliard is rather striking. One is tempted to conclude

[1] *P.C.*, 59. Testimony of Fr. Fortis, Witness 5.
[2] *P.C.*, 32. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[3] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.* [4] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.*
[5] *P.C.*, 71. Testimony of Gantelmus de Veyruna, Witness 7.
[6] *P.C.*, 32. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[7] *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 5, 364, and *Genealogià di Carlo II*, etc., in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 58.
[8] *Saint Louis*, etc., 14. These writers derive the name of Louis' governor from Ridolfi, *op. cit.*, 121, where it is correctly given as *Gulielmus de Manerio*. Ridolfi obviously got the name from the Process of Canonisation.

either that Miliard is a careless scribe's version of Manoir, or else that Riccio, whom Verlaque evidently copies, is at fault in his remembrance of the name given in the lost leaf and so thought that there were two persons, a governor and a master of the household, whereas it would seem that William, the governor of the Process of Canonisation, is really the same as William, the master of the household of the lost leaf.

Careful provision was made for the boys' spiritual education. In the early days in Provence they were given two priests, Peter Debria [*sic*] and Philip Normanni [*sic*], who took it in turns to celebrate Mass daily, the princes being present and behaving themselves with fitting reverence, we are told.[1] These priests also instructed Louis and his brothers in the rudiments of the faith. When they were a little older a regular tutor was appointed who also acted as chaplain, a French priest, John de Bimaret, Canon or Dean of Forcalquier,[2] who remained with them for six years.[3] Under his care Louis studied the beginnings of grammar and logic and proved an apt pupil.[4]

On the whole it may be gathered that the household of Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger of Anjou between the years 1282 and 1288 was a fairly extensive one, if we are to judge by the number of witnesses who had been members of their "family" during that period.[5]

We are fortunate in being able to reconstruct from the accounts of witnesses given in the Process a very vivid picture of the daily life of Louis and his brothers, typical enough, one may suppose, of that of all royal and noble youths of the later thirteenth century. They began their day by washing their hands, an operation apparently superintended by William of Manoir himself, after which they entered their chapel and heard

[1] *P.C.*, 33. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[2] *P.C.*, 65. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi.
[3] *P.C.*, 33. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca. [4] *P.C., loc. cit.*
[5] Bermundus de Roca, Witness 2, who had been in Louis' service six and a half years in Provence. *P.C.*, 33. Gantelmus de Veyruna, Witness 7, who had been in Louis' service two and a half years in Provence. *P.C.*, 71. John of Us, Witness 13. *P.C.*, 82. Lambert, Witness 16, who had been the whole nine years with Louis in Provence. *P.C.*, 93. Raymond de Bancon, Witness 18. *P.C.*, 96. Fr. Francis le Brun, who had been two years with Louis in Provence. *P.C.*, 106.

Mass. Louis, it appears, was accustomed to carry with him a book of devotion from which he would say the Office of Our Lady. Mass over, the boys would repair to a room where instruction followed from John de Bimaret, after which they were free to amuse themselves till the appearance of dinner. After dinner recreation was again allowed, and this usually seems to have taken the form of a game of chess.[1]

Of the public appearances of the children at this time we catch few glimpses. Thus we do not know if Louis was present at the great ceremony of the translation of the supposed relics of S. Mary Magdalene from Marseilles to S. Maximin in 1281, initiated by the Prince of Salerno, who had discovered them two years previously. But it is probable that the boy, who was seven and grave beyond his years, would accompany his parents on this occasion.

In 1282, when Louis was eight years old, occurred the Sicilian Vespers, an event which was not only to change the whole current of his life but to disturb the peace of Italy and Europe for more than a century. Villani's " il più possente re e il più ridottato " [2] of a few years back, robbed at one blow of the island portion of his dominions, was at last to taste failure and to die a disappointed man. The story is well known : how the Sicilians, exasperated by the tyranny of the French conquerors, although Charles himself did all that he could to relieve their burdens by a wise administration, rose on Easter Day at Palermo, and instituted a massacre, horrible in its thoroughness ; how Peter of Aragon was called in as the representative of the Suabian kings and the avenger of Conradin ; and how, finally, Charles organised an army and fleet to quell the rebellion, but failed to restore Sicily to its allegiance.

Naturally the political aspect of the disaster would have little significance for Louis, but in the immediate parting from his parents which it entailed it affected him very nearly. As soon as the news reached Provence the Prince of Salerno hastened to Paris to ask the help of his cousin, Philip III, in this catastrophe, and then, together with his wife and such ships and men

[1] *P.C.*, 106-107. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[2] G. Villani, *Storia*, Bk. VII, c. 57 (Florence, 2 vols., 1845, I, 388).

as he could collect in Provence, sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, whence he and Mary travelled to Naples by land, leaving their furniture to return to the capital by sea.[1] Little did the prince think that thirteen years were to elapse before he would see his sons again.

Louis, from the age of seven or thereabouts, seems to have begun to show signs of being no ordinary child. John of Orta tells us that he shunned childish play, preferring the study of the *Flores Sanctorum*, and even, as his mother would relate to the author of the *Vita* in after years, leaving his bed at night in order to lie upon the hard ground.[2] Probably the early separation from his parents, and the feeling of responsibility for his younger brothers, from the elder of whom he was separated by a gap of four years, which this would engender, tended to increase his precocious gravity. While his brothers took advantage of the coveted *solacium* to run or play with their bows and arrows, Louis remained indoors, engaged in study or reflection. The only form of recreation which he indulged in was an occasional game of chess.[3]

Everyone who saw the children at this time was struck with Louis' gentleness, humility, and boyish devoutness. Of an extremely tractable disposition, he scarcely ever needed punishment, but was sufficiently human to weep when his brother, Robert, a very different kind of boy, received the birch at the hands of William of Manoir.[4] As he grew older he began to shrink from the society of women, escaping as soon as possible from the noble ladies and their trains who came to visit the princes in the absence of their father and grandfather. Louis, indeed, carried his dislike of female society to such a pitch that he even showed himself unwilling to eat in the presence of Robert's and Raymond's nurses.[5]

The difference between Louis and his brothers, from being the talk of governor, tutors, and servants, soon passed beyond the limits of the household to become the wonder and admiration

[1] Riccio, *Il Regno di Carlo I*, etc., in *A.S.I.*, Series IV, vol. 4, 349.
[2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, etc., c. 3, in *A.B.*, IX, 283.
[3] *P.C.*, 96. Testimony of Raymond de Bancon.
[4] *P.C.*, 107. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.
[5] *P.C.*, 33. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

of Provence. In strong contrast to Louis, to whom he served as an excellent foil throughout their youth, Robert was a very normal boy who much preferred play—even after the captivity in Aragon had begun, we find that he was still fond of throwing stones, "iactabat lapidem frequenter"[1]—to learning to read. James of San Severino, Count of Tricarico and Chiaramonte, told Boccaccio that his father used to say that Robert was a child of a slow and sluggish disposition—"tam torpentis ingenii filium fuisse"—so that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could be taught the first rudiments of reading. It was not till his tutors, almost in despair, gave Robert Æsop's *Fables* in verse, which greatly delighted him, that he was fired with a desire to learn, and from this fortunate beginning, concludes Boccaccio, became the most eminent philosopher among the sovereigns of his day.[2]

While Louis and his brothers were thus quietly pursuing their education in the County, events were happening which were destined, before many years, to disturb the tranquil current of their lives and to make them partners in the misfortunes that now beset their grandfather. This is not the place to speak of the War of the Vespers that ensued on the massacre of Easter Day, 1282. It is sufficient to say that the crowning point was added to Angevin disasters when, on 5th June, 1284, the Prince of Salerno, at the head of the fleet, roused to blind fury by the insolent daring of the Aragonese admiral, the famous Roger of Loria, gave chase to the enemy in the Gulf of Naples, fought desperately, had his ship boarded, and was finally captured. The rage of Charles I with his son far exceeded his grief, for he had given strict orders that the Prince should not attack the superior numbers of Loria, and now his rashness had literally played into the enemy's hands. The King never recovered from this blow, but died at Foggia on 7th January, 1285, after having appointed as his heir, if we are to believe Saba Malaspina, his eldest grandson, Charles Martel.[3]

The dejection of the French in Naples was profound. With

[1] *P.C.*, 50. Testimony of Raymond de Ficubus, Witness 4.
[2] Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, Bk. XIV, c. 9.
[3] *Rerum Sicularum Historia*, Bk. X, c. 25.

the late King had departed their leading spirit; the new King was a prisoner in Sicily; the Vicar, Robert of Artois, although capable, would be unable to remain in Naples indefinitely; and then they knew that, with a boy of fourteen at the head of affairs, the Papacy would assume the real control of the kingdom. It was plain that Charles II must be ransomed at all costs. Charles Martel made desperate efforts to secure his father's release, and the King himself arranged the Treaty of Cefalù in 1285 with James of Aragon, to whose share, as second son of Peter III (dead earlier in the year), the island of Sicily had fallen. Charles II even went to the length of offering his heir, already long affianced to Clemence of Hapsburg, as a husband for James' young sister, Violante. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that the Treaty of Cefalù was disallowed by the Papacy.

Meantime in Provence dismay was scarcely less keen, and in May, 1286, a gathering of bishops, barons, knights, and representatives of certain towns assembled at Sisteron to discuss the situation. It is at this point that we find Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger making what was probably their first public appearance in the County.

The bishops and barons who, together with the knights and burghers of Provence, met together in May, 1286, bethought themselves in their hour of need of one who had already shown himself a good friend to his Angevin cousins, Edward I of England. It was he who, on the death of Charles I, had sent a message of encouragement to Charles Martel by Hugh of S. Edmunds, Prior of the Dominican convent at Chelmsford:[1] it was he who had dispatched envoys to visit the imprisoned Charles II;[2] who had, above all, given the new Queen, Mary, the welcome present of 800 ounces of gold.[3] Moreover, Edward was one of the most powerful princes in Europe, so that it was natural that the Archbishop of Aix and his colleagues should think that, if any man would be willing and able to effect their master's release, it would be the King of England. Accordingly, not

[1] Schipa, *Carlo Martello*, in *A.S.P.N.*, XIV, 244.
[2] T. Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 653 (Record Commission edition, 1806).
[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 660.

only did the barons and prelates write themselves to Edward,[1] entreating him to secure the liberation of Charles, but, hoping the more efficaciously to touch the King's heart, they caused the little princes, Louis, Robert,[2] and Raymond Berenger, to send a joint letter to their cousin appealing to him for their father's freedom.[3] This letter is dated 2nd May, from Sisteron, whither the boys had been brought to attend the meeting of the magnates, and it must have been dispatched at the same time as that of the magnates. It is couched in very flowery terms, and the tone throughout is one of exaggerated servility mingled with studied pathos.[4] The document closes on a more natural note; because the boys have no seal of their own they are made to explain that the Archbishop of Aix has lent them his.

To the appeal thus made to him Edward responded most generously, and it was almost entirely due to his efforts that Charles II finally found himself a free man once more. While answering the nobles and prelates of Provence at greater length, he made time to direct to his little cousins themselves a delightful note, dated from Paris, 15th July, and addressed to "Consanguineis suis dilectis," whom he exhorts to take heart—"exultate . . . et gaudete, quoniam appropinquat in proximo salus vestra."[5]

It was some time during this year, 1286, that Louis, at the impressionable age of twelve, first began to come under direct Franciscan influence. According to his own account, given in the Process of Canonisation, Francis Bruni [le Brun] of Apt, in Provence, afterwards Bishop of Gaeta, a man who perhaps did more than any other towards moulding Louis for the religious life, became attached at this time to the princes' household.[6] We have it on the authority of a document in the Angevin

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 664.

[2] In the text of the *Fœdera* the names are given "Ludovicus & Reymundus ac Berengarius." Clearly they should read "Ludovicus & Robertus ac Reymundus Berengarius."

[3] *Op. cit.*, I, 664.

[4] "Ex ore infantium et quasi lactantium, domine, preces, si placeat, suscipe; balbutentium linguas nolite despicere, orbatis patre vivo succurite pupillis, et quasi orphanis, prout regiam decet excellentiam, adjutores estote; patrem nostrum heu! prouth dolor! carceribus mancipatum pristinae reddite, O Rex magne! O Rex inclite! libertati."

[5] *Op. cit.*, I, 668.

[6] *P.C.*, 106.

Registers of 1294, quoted by Riccio [1] and Verlaque,[2] that Charles II later made Friar Francis, the tutor and spiritual director of his sons, his own chaplain. With his advent began not only a devoted friendship between tutor and pupil which was to last till Louis' death and find special recognition in his will, but a definite acceptance on the part of the boy of all that is implied by Franciscanism of the highest type. Louis had, of course, already made his first confession and Francis became his confessor.[3] Through the medium of that intimate relation it is little wonder that the child, already predisposed towards religious influences, quickly became imbued with a passionate love for the Order and its ideals.

For the next two years protracted negotiations were carried on, Edward I going himself to Béarn and meeting Alfonso of Aragon at Oloron in 1287. It was then that the idea of certain of his sons going as hostages into Spain for Charles II was first mooted, and it is the clause of the treaty dealing with this subject that alone concerns us. The agreement reached was that Louis and Robert should be given up immediately, before the liberation of Charles, while their elder brother, the Prince of Salerno, was to be handed over within ten months.[4] Meanwhile, to ensure the surrender of the heir at the appointed time, Alfonso stipulated that their little brother, Raymond Berenger, should accompany Louis and Robert for the ten months, and that a certain sum of money should be paid down when he was handed over. Further, the boys were to be accompanied by the eldest sons of sixty Provençal nobles, knights, and burghers, to be chosen by the King of Aragon, all of whom were to be at his mercy, saving their lives and limbs, if, within three years, the very hard terms of the treaty had not been fulfilled by Charles.[5] All seemed at last concluded when again the Papacy interfered, refusing to recognise Oloron any more than it would countenance Cefalù. The conditions, the Pope declared, were far too severe; for Charles, the Guelf champion, was to renounce Sicily.

In this way Louis and his brothers obtained a respite from

[1] *Ludovico d'Angiò*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 59.
[2] *Saint Louis*, etc., 34.
[3] *P.C.*, 106.
[4] Rymer, *op. cit.*, I, 677.
[5] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

captivity, but it was only for a year. In October, 1288, was signed the Treaty of Canfranc, slightly less exacting with regard to certain clauses, but to all intents and purposes the same.[1] The arrangements and precautions concerning the hostages were, on the other hand, more minute. In the event of Charles Martel's death Louis was to take his place as his father's heir; if Raymond Berenger should die, Philip was to be sent from Naples.[2]

This time there was no papal intervention and Louis and Robert had to leave Provence, regarded by them as home for so many years. Raymond was unable to go with them, being dangerously ill at the time and quite unfit for the journey, but Edward I, who had been present at Canfranc, and to whom both parties seem to have turned in every difficulty, undertook to see that he left for Catalonia on his recovery, sending thirty-six hostages of noble birth and forty burgher hostages in his stead.[3]

Happily for Louis and Robert, the Queen of Sicily was with her children in Provence at this critical moment in their fortunes, and was allowed to accompany them some part of the way on their journey to Catalonia. The sad little company, which included very few members of the princes' household, even Francis le Brun being left behind for the moment, was escorted by a Provençal knight, Raymond de Bancon, as far as Arles,[4] where he left the Queen and her two sons to pursue their journey through "Gascony."[5] At what exact point the parting between Mary and the boys took place we are not told. The next thing that we hear of them is the acknowledgment of Alfonso I, dated from Canfranc 29th October, 1288, that he had received "nobiles viros, dominos Lodowycum et Robertum," into his custody.[6]

The one bright spot in all these wearisome negotiations had been the conduct of Edward I, who appears throughout the transactions in a most attractive and rather unexpected light; shifting the burden from the shoulders of the somewhat incapable

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 687.
[2] Geronimo Zurita, *Annales de la Corona de Aragon*, I, Bk. 4, c. 104 (1610).
[3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*; Rymer, *op. cit.*, I, 687. [4] *P.C.*, 96.
[5] *P.C.*, 73. Testimony of Hugh Porceleti de Aralate, Witness 8.
[6] Rymer, *op. cit.*, I, 693. Zurita, *op. cit.*, I, Bk. 4, c. 107.

Charles II to his own, providing security for enormous sums of money, and hostages who would have afterwards to be rewarded at his own expense, and even arranging details about the journey of a sick child. The Angevins had, indeed, great cause to be grateful to their English cousin.

Thus, at the Feast of All Saints', 1288, closed the first chapter in the life of Louis of Anjou. He came to Catalonia a boy, naturally devout and eagerly responsive to the call of the spiritual life. He was to leave it, seven years later, on All Saints' Day, 1295, a man, who had deliberately rejected a dazzling worldly prospect in order that he might don the habit of a Friar Minor.

II.

LIFE AS A HOSTAGE IN ARAGON, 1288-1295.

To Louis and Robert of Anjou the change from their quiet life in Provence to the new conditions of captivity in Aragon must have been considerable. The parting from their mother and little brother, the sense of entering a hostile country almost alone (for of the witnesses who were members of their household both before and after 1288, only one says that he actually accompanied them to Catalonia),[1] would be doubly hard to boys who, owing to the peculiar circumstances of their upbringing apart from the rest of their family, had early become the centre of attraction in their little world, the County. They now found themselves brought into a very different kind of prominence—pawns in the game of European politics—but this new and unwelcome position of importance, and the sympathy which their hard lot must naturally have excited, can have been little compensation for virtual imprisonment in a Catalan fortress where they were regarded by the governor as nothing more than a dangerous and burdensome charge.

Alfonso III of Aragon, aware of the compassion that would be aroused even among his own people by the sight of two hostages of such tender years, and fearful of some attempt at rescue which, if successful, would wreck the whole Treaty of Canfranc, did not dare to keep Louis and Robert in any important town, but hurried them away immediately to the castle of Moncada, a short distance to the north-east of Barcelona. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to imagine that the princes were ill treated; we can hardly credit the statement of one witness that the boys were

[1] *P.C.*, 71. Testimony of Gantelmus de Veyruna.

put in iron chains at Moncada.[1] The code of chivalry between sovereigns in the Middle Ages was a very high one, and the position of a royal hostage was not so disagreeable as it is at first natural to imagine. We know that John of France infinitely preferred his comfortable leisure in England to the onerous task of coping with Étienne Marcel and the Jacquerie; while a little later, James I of Scotland received honourable treatment during his confinement at Windsor at the hands of Henry IV and Henry V, with full opportunity for the pursuit of studies which made him, on his release, one of the most accomplished kings of his day. Louis' and Robert's own father, Charles II, had received the utmost consideration from Alfonso III, and no change of treatment was contemplated with regard to his sons. The King of Aragon was quite a young man, not more than ten or twelve years Louis' senior, and, if we are to believe all the praise bestowed by Dante on his "giovinetto," a person of a noble and generous nature.[2] His youth would make him sympathise with his boy hostages, and he made it clear from the first that, although they were to be treated as prisoners, it was, at least, as honourable ones. Probably the scanty number of their household which accompanied the princes in October, 1288, was due not so much to severity as to a wish for haste, a desire to put an end to the long drawn-out negotiations of past years, and to conclude the Treaty of Canfranc before a revulsion of feeling in favour of the children might possibly cause some one of the contracting parties to protest against, and prevent, their departure from Provence. At any rate, we find that Louis and Robert were soon allowed the companionship of some of their former friends and attendants.

S. Nicholas' Day[3] (appropriate as being the feast of the patron saint of boys) following the captivity of the young Angevins must have been an occasion of peculiar joy to Louis at least, for it saw the arrival at the castle of Moncada of Friar Francis le Brun, his beloved tutor, who, as has been seen, had already been with him for two years. Three months later, on 9th March,

[1] *P.C.*, 36. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[2] *Divina Commedia: Purgatorio*, Canto VII, ll. 115-117.
[3] 6th December. *P.C.*, 98. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii, Witness 19.

1289, there was a further pleasure for them when Raymond Berenger, now fully recovered from his illness, joined his brothers in their imprisonment at Moncada.[1] The little boy was accompanied by the stipulated number of Provençal hostages,[2] of whom the burghers' sons, such as Durantus Curaterii (afterwards a witness to Louis' sanctity of life) were placed in custody at Lerida ; [3] while those of the nobles and knights were allowed to go to Moncada, as in the case of Hugo Porceleti of Arles (another witness), a mere child of about eleven years old, and to enter the service of their young masters.[4] How long the boys remained at Moncada we do not know exactly, but they were still there in November, 1289,[5] and probably not much later, which would make the total duration of their stay about a year.

As we have seen, it had been agreed at the Treaty of Canfranc that Charles, Prince of Salerno, should take Raymond Berenger's place as a hostage in Catalonia within ten months of November, 1288. This clause of the Treaty, however, was never carried out[6] and the younger prince remained with Louis and Robert throughout the period of their imprisonment, an arrangement which was greatly to the advantage of the King of Sicily, since his heir was of an age to understand and take part in affairs of state, and could be left as Vicar-General in Naples when he himself was absent in Provence or elsewhere.

Following the movements of Louis and his brothers, we next find them at the castle of Cuirana, about sixty miles south-west of Barcelona, and fifteen to the north of Tarragona. It may be worth recording that the little town of Cuirana, situated among the Prades mountains, had associations both with an ancestor of the Angevins and with Provence. Through their

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 706. The actual day of arrival in Catalonia was Ash Wednesday (23rd February). *P.C.*, 88. [2] *P.C.*, 73. [3] *P.C.*, 88.

[4] *P.C.*, 73. It appears that all the hostages, whether noble or burgher, were first taken to the castle of Rocca, near Barcelona, and then after about a month, i.e. 8th April, the nobles' sons were sent to Moncada and the burghers', presumably at the same time, to Lerida. For an account of the treatment of the burgher hostages in 1292 see H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 27-28. The King was reluctant to put *them* in chains.

[5] *P.C.*, 73. Testimony of Hugo Porceleti. He says that he was with the princes at Moncada for about 7 months, and he began his service in April, 1289.

[6] It is an oft repeated error that Charles actually did go as a hostage to Catalonia.

grandmother, Beatrice of Provence, they were descended from the Counts of Barcelona, one of whom in 1112 married the heiress of Provence, which devolved on the junior branch of the House of Barcelona. Cuirana had once been occupied by the Moors, who were driven out by Raymond Berenger IV, Count of Barcelona (died 1162). He gave the place to a Provençal gentleman as a reward for his services in helping to expel them. The castle, perched on a height overlooking the town —Francis le Brun describes it as "castrum Syeurane supra rupem,"[1]—was erected by the Moors during their occupation as a defence against the frequent attacks of the Counts of Barcelona, and although all that remained in Verlaque's time was an ivy-covered ruin, he says that it was of an extent to show that it must once have been a large and imposing building.[2] Cuirana was evidently regarded as the state prison of Aragon, *par excellence ;* here Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, was taken in 1281, and it was also the prison of Charles II of Sicily, five years later.[3] Moncada was merely a temporary prison, probably utilised until the certainty that the King of Aragon would have to be content with Raymond Berenger as his third hostage rendered it unnecessary for the princes to remain any longer in a fortress near the coast, suitable for effecting the exchange of the Prince of Salerno and his little brother. Cuirana was then prepared for the reception of the young Angevins and their household. They remained in this inland prison for four consecutive years.[4] They were then removed for a short while to Castile and to Barcelona, but we find them back at Cuirana during the last year of their life in Catalonia.

As far as outward forms are concerned the conditions of life at Cuirana were hard enough. Alfonso appointed a governor of the castle, Bernaldo de Monpahon, and upon him devolved all ultimate responsibility for the boys' safety.[5] The single anecdote recorded of this man in the Process of Canonisation

[1] *P.C.*, 109. [2] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 36.

[3] Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel*, 8 (1910), quoting *Barc. Reg.*, V, 64.

[4] *P.C.*, 107. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[5] Zurita, *op. cit.*, I, Bk. 4, c. 107. Finke, *op. cit.*, I, Document 5, 9; and *P.C.*, 53. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus, Witness 4.

is not a pleasing one. He seems to have tried to frighten the children by telling them that if the King of Aragon ordered that they should be thrown down from the rock of Cuirana he would willingly carry out the command, a grim jest that strikes one as being a piece of unnecessary cruelty.[1] Later on, in 1294, we find a certain Gerard de Pulchro associated with Monpahon in his office.[2] Next in importance to the governor, to whom as his subordinate he was required to do homage, came Bernaldo de Peratallado, captain of the guard, which consisted of twelve knights as for Charles II.[3] The strictness of this guard was never relaxed. James II, who succeeded Alfonso in 1291, repeated his brother's command about the number on 13th April, 1292,[4] while in December, 1294, the same King dispatched a furious letter to the governor of Cuirana, accusing him of slackness in his office and of unwarranted leniency. This state of affairs is to continue no longer; the utmost diligence is to be employed lest—"may God avert such a disaster"—anything untoward should happen to any of the prisoners. A warning is given to the governor against poisoned food; the princes' servants are never to be allowed to bear or to borrow arms; above all, with a few favoured exceptions, they must never enter, or remain in, the castle after nightfall.[5]

The greatest danger, as Alfonso and James rightly considered, was to be apprehended from servants and attendants. Thus, in March, 1292, James writes to Monpahon, "we order and command you that immediately, on receipt of these presents, you expel from the castle of Cuirana Guillot Johannes Coch, Motxcha Foch, Ribalta, Gombertus, Arnaldus Bretonus, who are now with the sons of the Prince of Salerno," as King Charles is contemptuously styled.[6] These men are never to dare to communicate with Louis and his brothers again, except in the King of Aragon's presence, and the following month they are sent back to Charles II.[7] In all probability they had been planning the boys' escape,

[1] *P.C.*, 53. [2] Finke, *op. cit.*, I, Document 15, 20.
[3] Zurita, *op. cit., loc. cit.*
[4] Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, Document 5, 9.
[5] Finke, *op. cit.*, I, Document 15, 20-21. The exceptions were "certi fratres Minores, capellanus, medicus et coquus . . . et scutiffer Raimundi Berengarii."
[6] *Op. cit.*, I, Document 5, 9. [7] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

for which they are scarcely to be blamed, especially when we remember that Charles himself was not above sending suspect letters to his sons by their physician, master Francis. The governor is warned not to allow anything "dangerous" to happen.[1]

Nevertheless, although maintaining a strict guard, Alfonso found it impossible to restrict the number of the princes' household to the "three French knights," who, Zurita tells us, entered Cuirana in attendance on the boys.[2] Allowing for the fact that each of these knights would have his respective suite of esquires, pages, and valets, they yet constitute a household of very modest dimensions, so that, as we might expect, as soon as it became clear that the stay of Louis and his brothers at Cuirana was to be a long one, their establishment was speedily augmented.

We gather, indeed, that the household of Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger of Anjou, during the time that they were hostages in Catalonia, was run on much the same lines and on much the same scale as their earlier household in Provence. There was the usual master of the household—the *major domus*, as he is called—who was apparently allowed to take orders direct from Louis, since we find him not only superintending the practical side of affairs, but also charged by his young master with the more delicate task of watching over the moral welfare of the "family."[3] This included the forty young Provençal hostages of noble and gentle birth who, while affording the princes company and sharing in the advantages of their education, rendered their masters honourable service in the capacity of squires and pages. Thus the task of superintendence of Louis' *familia* can have been no light one.[4]

The figure ranking next in importance to the master of the household was the boys' physician, evidently a privileged person, for he was one of the few members of the household allowed, by the strict order of December, 1294, to remain in the castle of

[1] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* [2] *Op. cit.*, I, Bk. 4, c. 107.

[3] *P.C.*, 36. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[4] It is possible that this *major domus* was the "Gulielmus Lulii de barcinone familiaris suus," to whom Charles II writes about the expenses of his sons in August, 1293, when they were removed for a short time to Castile. Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico, Supplemento*, i, LV, 66.

Cuirana at night. Charles II gave his sons as physician Francis d'Andrée of Meyronnes, a person greatly in his confidence, as is proved by a letter written by the King in September, 1292.[1] Of personal attendants, whom the boys were apparently at liberty to choose,[2] they had, for one, Bermundus de Roca, who had followed them from Provence, and who was a servant of the chamber. He slept in the turret room of the castle occupied for the sake of greater precaution by the three brothers, Francis le Brun and his companion sharing a similar apartment immediately beneath.[3] Each brother had an esquire of his own. Of menial servants there was probably a large staff—we hear of a cook,[4] four valets, and a special valet, who had the charge of the youngest brother's pony,[5] while the number dismissed in 1292 should be some indication of the total figures.[6]

Charles II allowed his sons a fixed sum for the maintenance of their household at Cuirana, to be paid through the agency of the controller of their common expenses.[7] Papon reckoned that the boys were allowed 4000 *livres couronnées* a year (about 61,333 *livres* in his day, 1770-1780). The amount, unfortunately,

[1] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 34, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1307, B, n. 168, f. 172v. "Nos attendentes fidem puram et devocionem sinceram quam magister Franciscus Andree de Mayronis, physicus liberorum nostrorum, erga nos habere dignoscitur, ipsum in familiarem nostrum recessimus et de nostro hospicio retinemus." Francis became Archdeacon of Mende. *P.C.*, 21. He was possibly a relation of Fr. Francis of Meyronnes. See *A.O.M.C.*, XIII, 312, n. 1.

[2] *P.C.*, 36. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca. Louis used to say to his father, relative to the question of his household, "Sire, recall those (members) who are skilled in arms and give me some others."

[3] *P.C.*, 109. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[4] Finke, *op. cit.*, I, Document 15, 20.

[5] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento*, i, XLVIII, 61.

[6] Other domestics mentioned in the *P.C.* are (1) Guillelmus de Malassio; (2) Johannes Mochasel, "familiares domini Ludovici," 52; (3) Raymundus de Ficubus, "qui tempore obsidatus erat de familia domini Ludovici," 23. A Catalan, and illiterate, this man followed Louis to Naples, and was present in the Count's house at Brignoles when he died. Eventually Raymond became a lay brother of the Franciscan convent at Marseilles. He is a very important witness in the Process of Canonisation.

[7] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento*, i, LV, 66. "Quod si idem filii nostri morentur in partibus Catalonie vel Aragonie amministrentur eis per diem quamlibet, tam pro ordinariis videlicet quam extraordinariis, turonensium nigrorum libre quatuor. Si vero in partibus Castelle morentur solidi tantum viginti similiter per diem amministrentur . . ."

did not always arrive regularly; Charles II, pressed by a multitude of cares, writes from Perpignan on 12th April, 1290, to the Seneschal of Provence, bewailing the fact that the expenses of his sons and the noble youths, their companions in misfortune, have not been met for six months, and adjuring him instantly to make up all arrears.[1] On the other hand, the King was not altogether unmindful of his children's personal comfort, and we find him sending to Aragon twelve dishes and two silver vessels in great haste,[2] while on another occasion he makes them a welcome present of clothes. An order is given to the Society "bachosarum de Luca" [*sic*] to provide mantles for the three boys, of which the King says that they are in great need, while at the same time suitable provision is made for garments for the members of their household, the account for the whole to be sent in to the King's Marshal, who is arranging for their transmission to Catalonia.[3]

The boys probably made their wants known through the messengers whom they were at liberty to send to their father. For instance, we hear of Francis le Brun going to the King[4] and Gulielmus Lulli to Provence.[5]

While, however, material comfort was far from being neglected at Cuirana, education received its full share of attention. Alfonso and James could hardly, even had they been so minded, have refused to allow its continuation, and we find that this period of captivity, so conducive to a sedentary life, was utilised by Louis to the best advantage and with the most happy results. It is important to notice that from the moment of their arrival in Catalonia the direction of the princes' studies was left entirely in the hands of Franciscans. For the few weeks, indeed, before the arrival of Francis le Brun, they were taught by a French priest,[6] perhaps their tutor, John de Bimaret. A Provençal

[1] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., II, i, V, 5. [2] Riccio, *Studii Storici*, etc., 41.

[3] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento*, i, XLVIII, 61. " . . . pro forratura Robarum Lodoyci, Roberti et Raymundi berengarii filiorum nostrorum qui sunt in Cathalonia Mantellis [*sic*] de minutis vayris tres et de grossis vayris tres pro duobus fratribus existentibus cum eisdem de Cambellino et blancetto Tunicas conginentes pro tribus clericis eorum . . ."

[4] *P.C.*, 99. [5] Finke, *op. cit.*, III, Document, 5, 25.

[6] *P.C.*, 53. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

chaplain would have been included, as an essential member, in their preliminary train of November, 1288. But this was merely a temporary arrangement, and Francis le Brun resumed his former post about the persons of Louis and his brothers. In 1290 a second instructor, filling the post of *lector*[1] to the boys, was appointed. This was Peter Scarrerii, afterwards Bishop of Rapolla, who, like his friend, Francis le Brun, remained with Louis till the latter's death, becoming scarcely second to Francis in the prince's affections.[2]

It is abundantly clear from the Process of Canonisation that Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii were the only masters entrusted with the education of the Angevin princes during the period of their detention in Aragon,[3] although Francis le Brun is three times mentioned as having had a *socius* there; on the occasion when he joined his charges on 6th December, 1288,[4] and again, at the time of Louis' reception of the tonsure and four minor orders at Cuirana in November, 1294.[5] Yet tradition has associated the names of several distinguished men with the rôle of tutor to Louis and his brothers while they were hostages in Catalonia. Thus James Duèze, the future Pope John XXII, and Richard de Mediavilla, or de Menevile, have both been stated to have filled that office. Their connection with Louis was really of a later date, as will be related in due course. This error is in all probability based upon a passage in John of Orta's Life, where he mentions James and Richard together with William of Falgar as having been among the learned associates (not teachers) of Louis.[6] As regards William of Falgar, P. W. Lampen conjectures that he was the *socius* of Francis le Brun in 1288,[7] resting this

[1] F. Ehrle, *Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, in *Archiv fur Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, III, 540 (1887). Letter from Olivi to Louis and his brothers, May, 1295.

[2] *P.C.*, 98. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

[3] P. Willibrordus Lampen, O.F.M., in his *Utrum Richardus de Mediavilla fuerit S. Ludovici Tolosani magister* (*A.F.H.*, XIX, 113-116, 1926), is quite definite on this point.

[4] *P.C.*, 98 and 107. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii, and of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[5] Francis says that he did not dare to summon his *socius* to be present at this ceremony "quia erat de Cathalonia." *P.C.*, 110.

[6] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 18, in *A.B.*, IX, 294-295. [7] *A.F.H.*, XIX, 115.

conclusion on the fact that Falgar is mentioned by Bermundus de Roca as figuring in an anecdote which Bermundus refers to the period of detention in Aragon.[1] But as the anecdote simply deals with Louis' devotions in his chapel, and as Bermundus was a member of his household both in Aragon and during his year at Castel dell' Ovo, near Naples, in 1296 (when Falgar was certainly living with Louis),[2] I cannot help suspecting that this witness's memory was playing him false and that the incident described took place in Naples, and not in Spain. It does not seem very likely that Falgar, who was a distinguished Toulousain, should have been with Louis in Catalonia.

A third famous man who has been called the Prince's tutor is the learned Catalan Friar Poncius Carbonelli, author of *Commentaria in universa Biblia*,[3] who died not earlier than 1297. Carbonelli is designated as Louis' master by Bartholomew of Pisa in his *De Conformitate Vitae B.P. Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*.[4] He is followed in this statement by Wadding[5] and others. But P. Michael Bihl, O.F.M., contests this assertion,[6] and, indeed, it is strange that, had Carbonelli really been Louis' master, both the Process and the Life should maintain a complete silence respecting him.

Under the care of these instructors the brothers passed, according to Louis' biographer,[7] through the usual course of study prescribed for mediæval youth, grammar and logic, to which were added theology, natural science, and metaphysics.[8] Louis' progress in Latin was rapid. One witness relates that during the first year in Catalonia he heard the prince talking Latin a little; the second year he was speaking more fluently; by the third and fourth he was disputing with his masters, Francis

[1] *P.C.*, 34.

[2] *P.C.*, 38 and 98. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca, and of Fr. Peter Scarrerii. [3] Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, 200 (Rome, 1806).

[4] Lib. I, Conf. viii, pars 2, in *A.F.*, IV, 310.

[5] *Scriptores . . ., loc. cit.*

[6] *A.F.H.*, II, 140 (1909); review of Finke's *Acta Aragonensia*, I and II. Another Catalan friar of the same name was a trusted diplomatic agent of James II of Aragon and Frederick II of Sicily. At one time I was tempted to think that Francis le Brun's Catalan *socius* was the famous Carbonelli.

[7] John of Orta, *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 15, in *A.B.*, IX, 292.

[8] *P.C.*, 98. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

and Peter, with ease, although Bermundus de Roca, since he was a layman and therefore unacquainted with Latin, could not tell what it was all about.[1] Disputation, indeed, that favourite form of mediæval mental gymnastics, seems greatly to have appealed to Louis, and John of Orta heard him once at Barcelona in public debate.[2] Nor were the boy's arguments lacking in solid foundation. Every available moment was given up to reading; while Robert and Raymond disported themselves the grave elder brother remained in his chamber poring over books.[3] So well did Louis profit by his studies that before he left Catalonia he could preach to clergy and people alike with perfect ease,[4] and the fame of his devotion to learning spread abroad. During the year 1296, when he was living the life of a recluse at Naples, erudite doctors, like Richard de Mediavilla, conversing with the prince on matters theological and philosophical, were astonished at his knowledge,[5] while Friar Fortis (a witness) even went so far as to declare that the prince must be divinely inspired.[6] It appears that on the journey from Catalonia to Italy in 1295, when Louis was released, he engaged in a discussion with him which lasted all the way from Aix to Naples. Seemingly the prince showed himself so well versed in the "logicalia, naturalia, moralia et theologica"[7] that he had been studying for seven years in Spain, that Friar Fortis refused to believe that he could have learnt it all from his Franciscan teachers "who, though they were otherwise good men, honest and learned and of great repute in the Order, were not of a wisdom equal to teaching him, at that period, such lofty themes and such difficult questions of theology and philosophy."[8] Be this as it may, the princes' Franciscan tutors must have been good teachers. Robert, for all his stone-throwing, riding, and general intercourse with laymen, owed to the liberal education given by these friars at

[1] *P.C.*, 33. [2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 14, in *A.B.*, IX, 292.
[3] *P.C.*, 50 and 51. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus. *P.C.*, 72. Testimony of Gantelmus de Veyruna.
[4] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 14, in *A.B.*, IX, 292.
[5] *P.C.*, 84. Testimony of Fr. Peter Cocardi, Bishop of Troia, Witness 14.
[6] Fr. Raymond Gauffridi seems to have shared this opinion. *P.C.*, 66.
[7] *P.C.*, 98. [8] *P.C.*, 60.

Cuirana and Barcelona the foundations which enabled him to compose the learned sermons of his later life.

Devotion to learning, however, was with Louis only a side issue in comparison with his devotion to the service of God; or perhaps it would be truer to say that he only regarded his studies as a means of attaining to a clearer understanding of divine things, the object to which the whole of his short life was dedicated. For Louis, whether he had been canonised by John XXII or not, would still have been a saint in the true meaning of the word, that is, one of those rare people for whom the vision of the Divine is such a tremendous and ever-present reality that earthly things have literally no attraction for them. During those seven years in Catalonia Louis lived the life of one who had practically abandoned the world and its pleasures, and it is the realisation of his genuine vocation that makes one pardon conduct that otherwise one would be disposed to term mere priggishness.

At the age of fourteen or thereabouts Louis, with the aid of the spiritual advice of Friar Francis le Brun, drew up for himself a rule of life to which he steadily adhered in spite of the derision of his guards throughout his years of detention in Aragon. Every morning he heard Mass privately,[1] always displaying the utmost reverence and devotion; he was constant in the frequency of his Communions, and earnest in his preparation by confession and prayer.[2] A striking action in a boy, the prince made it his daily practice to join his Franciscan masters in the recitation of the Canonical Hours.[3] From the Office of the Cross Louis appears to have derived especial help and spiritual consolation. A Carthusian monk taught the boy to say it with his arms stretched out in the form of a Cross against the wall, and, with the door carefully closed, he would recite the entire form while remaining in a position so exhausting that the friar, whose turn it was to assist him in the Office, would confess that he could scarcely endure it.[4] Sermons, too, he heard often and with joy, we are

[1] *P.C.*, 72. Testimony of Gantelmus de Veyruna.

[2] *P.C.*, 108. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[3] *P.C.*, 51. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

[4] *P.C.*, *Quintum Capitulum Generale*, 11-12, and 99, testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

told, from Friars Peter and Francis, whose duty it was to preach before the princes and their household.[1] In the matters of fasting, discipline, and diet, Louis showed himself very particular. He confined himself to bread and water on the four vigils of the Feasts of Our Lady, on those of certain Apostles and some other saints, and later, on that of S. Lawrence, to whom the Franciscan church at Naples was dedicated.[2] The Friday fast was strictly observed, except in August, when it is interesting to note that Louis so far followed the dictates of prudence as to drink wine, on account of the badness of the water in the height of summer.[3] Every Friday he sought discipline from one or other of the Friars Minor ; sometimes as often as three or four times in the week he would receive the scourge at the hands of Francis le Brun, and, as if this were not enough, frequently add some penance of his own contriving.[4] As for meals, Louis was abstemious both in food and drink, usually contenting himself with some kind of pottage in the morning, and displaying little partiality for meat or even fish, and rarely drinking at table. At night, his favourite dish appears to have been *nebule*, a kind of very light wafer,[5] which was followed by a little wine greatly tempered with water.[6] It is little wonder that such austerities called forth astonishment in friends and enemies alike.

Louis did not expect that the rigid standard which he set himself should be observed by others, but he did demand that a certain code of behaviour should be maintained. At an early age he took the management of his brothers and his household into his own hands, and laid down rules for their conduct. Louis' " family " was a source of constant anxiety to him, the young nobles of Provence proving a special thorn in the flesh by reason of their frivolous behaviour, in which they were seemingly encouraged by Robert, and, to a lesser degree, by Raymond Berenger. We cannot help wondering, however, whether the trial were not a mutual one, and whether Louis' brothers and

[1] *P.C.*, c. viij, 12, 34, etc., and 108, testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.
[2] *P.C.*, 35. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*
[4] *P.C.*, 99 and 108. Testimony of Witnesses 19 and 20.
[5] Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, V, 582.
[6] *P.C.*, 52. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

companions did not occasionally resent correction from one who was so nearly of their own age. On the whole they appear to have taken it in good part. Louis, as we shall see, was a kind brother, and the affection which he inspired in Robert's mind was profound, while Hugo Porceleti, one of the youths in question, bears no malice in giving his testimony to Louis' saintliness.

It was in the matter of language in general and at table in particular, that Louis' brothers and companions seem to have caused him most offence. He disliked their loud arguments and their worldly songs ;[1] but much more did he dislike their use of profane and unseemly words. To this end the youthful reformer made a rigid rule that, if it could be proved by two witnesses that any member of his household had been guilty of using evil language, the delinquent should that day take his meals on the bare floor without the amenity of a napkin.[2] This uncomfortable situation was rendered all the more unpleasant by the fact that Louis forbade the victim to refuse his food to any dogs in the hall which might take a fancy to it and try to snatch it from him.[3] Even Louis' brothers were not exempt from this regulation, although as princes they enjoyed the privilege of remaining at table, being deprived of the napkin only : one witness relates how he frequently saw Robert and Raymond Berenger undergoing their penance.[4] We hear also of one hardened offender, the son of the Count of Avellino,[5] who proved quite incapable of controlling his tongue, and was continually taking his meals upon the ground.[6] The more amenable youths declared that, since they were no longer allowed by Louis to take the name of God or His saints in an oath, they must resort to swearing by

[1] *P.C.*, 34. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[2] *P.C.*, 52. Testimony of Raymond de Ficubus.

[3] *P.C.*, 73-74. Testimony of Hugo Porceleti.

[4] *P.C.*, 52. Testimony of Raymond de Ficubus. The John of Orta Life adds an anecdote to the effect that on one occasion Louis, having let fall some word that was misinterpreted as unseemly by his companions, imposed upon himself the same punishment as an example. *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 26, in *A.B.*, IX, 301.

[5] The *Vita* says " unus etiam miles de numero custodum," *loc. cit.*

[6] *P.C.*, c. ix, 52. The Count of Avellino was one of the magnates present at Sisteron, in 1286, who wrote to Edward I on behalf of the imprisoned Charles II.

him ; whereupon the prince replied that they were very bold to make use of him in this fashion. But when he heard their foolish exclamations of " by the head of Louis," " by the feet of Louis," and so forth, it is related that he could not forbear smiling, and took no more heed.[1]

Louis, however, for all his pious severity, constituted himself the protector, as well as the mentor, of his little brothers. If he gently corrected Robert when he saw him in fault,[2] he also made allowance in quite a human fashion for his childish joys and fears. Unmoved himself by the unkindness of guards and the threatening jest of Monpahon—he remained calm even when one of his jailors held him suspended over the rock at Cuirana as if about to throw him down [3]—he was able to sympathise with the tears and terrors of Robert and Raymond Berenger, and especially with those of the former who, of the three boys, appears to have felt their captivity in Aragon the most keenly.[4] Often Louis would do his best to comfort his brothers, telling them not to mind, for God would take care of them.[5] He was anxious, too, to join in their amusements, vanities though he considered them, if by so doing he could afford them pleasure, and we have direct from Robert himself a story which illustrates this brotherly kindness.[6] The younger prince was devoted to hunting and military exercises, at which he was extremely accomplished, although naturally the circumstances of the boys' life at Cuirana did not afford much opportunity for the gratification of these tastes. However, when the governor allowed such diversions, which took place after the completion of the morning's study, Louis consented to play his part, until one day a terrible fall warned him that God was displeased, and he would ride no more. It appears that the boys were making their horses gallop when Louis' beast reared, throwing him violently to the ground and bruising his face. As soon as he had risen to his feet, he solemnly adjured Robert never to ask him to share in such sports again.

[1] *P.C.*, 74. Testimony of Hugo Porceleti.
[2] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* [3] *P.C.*, 64.
[4] *P.C.*, 65. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi.
[5] *P.C.*, 53. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.
[6] *P.C.*, 95. Testimony of Fr. Adam, Witness 17, who deposed on Robert's behalf. See below, pp. 182-183.

"God does not wish me to devote myself to such exercise and worldly fighting; God has chosen me for another kind of fighting."[1] Again, although evidently fond of dogs, he refused, since he had given up hunting, to spend his father's allowance on their maintenance, and while Robert and Raymond Berenger did not scruple to keep large numbers, he retained only one *alanus*—of a Spanish breed, presumably[2]—and even this he eventually parted with, sending it as a present to his father in Naples.[3]

Louis' conception of the duties of the Christian life did not stop short at a rule of passive piety. If he followed S. Paul in his realisation of the necessity of Faith, he was equally a disciple of S. James in his practice of Works. For his eager desire for active accomplishment Catalonia afforded him several outlets, in the christening of Jews and infidels,[4] the visiting of the sick and poor, and the tending of lepers. In all these activities he expected that his brothers should join him, rather unreasonably perhaps, since he no longer shared in their amusements, and we are not surprised to find that Robert partook very unwillingly in Louis' charitable ventures.

In the summer of 1293 the boys were entrusted for some reason to Sancho IV of Castile, but by October they were again in the hands of James II, who established them at Barcelona.[5] Here they were lodged in the house of Peter of S. Clement,[6] close to the Templars' church.[7] To Robert and Raymond Berenger this change meant excitement;[8] to Louis, it spelt opportunities

[1] Cf. account given in the *Vita*, c. 6, in *A.B.*, IX, 286, where the idea of a miraculous escape is far more developed.

[2] Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, I, 157.

[3] *P.C.*, 56. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

[4] Louis acted as godfather to a Jewish boy, whom he had christened at Barcelona, and to another at Cuirana. *P.C.*, 35 and 52.

[5] Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 26. Letter of James II. See also above, p. 61, n. 7. Charles II (who is writing in August, 1293) alludes to his sons' stay in Castile.

[6] *P.C.*, 53. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

[7] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 40, in *A.B.*, IX, 311.

[8] Finke, *op. cit.*, III, Document 15, 25. Letter from James II, dated 31st March, 1294, giving permission to the princes to ride abroad occasionally through the streets of Barcelona.

for doing good impossible in the seclusion of Cuirana. The lodging at Barcelona was in the middle of the city, and through a window which gave on to the street Louis was in the habit of letting down to beggars bread which he had secretly obtained for the purpose.[1] Characteristically mediæval was Louis' ultra-sentimental attitude towards lepers, an attitude perhaps half-consciously adopted in imitation of his two great patterns, S. Francis of Assisi and King Louis of France. It appears that during the Holy Week of 1294 he conceived the idea of assembling a number of the poor of Barcelona at his own and his brothers' lodging on Maundy Thursday in order that he and Robert might wash their feet and tend them, thus following the example set by Christ upon that day. Not content with this common mediæval practice, Louis must needs go further and insist upon including a leper among the beggars, whose feet and mouth he and his brother should kiss in memory of Christ's Passion. Robert, however, objected violently to the rôle he was designed to play, and his very natural fright and repugnance were not overcome without a struggle. He relates that he told Louis roundly that they were young, that the disease was of a deadly infection, and that they ought to consider the danger to which they were exposing themselves, since they might very easily contract leprosy. Louis, however, waived all these objections aside, declaring that, since it was an act done in memory of the Passion they would be immune from infection, and Robert, to please his brother, gave in to his wishes. When the poor men were summoned, to the delight of the elder, and the corresponding horror and dismay of the younger brother, there was the leper, a tall, gaunt figure, rendered deformed and repulsive by disease, a victim to the worst scourge of the Middle Ages in its most virulent form. Louis performed his self-appointed ministrations without fear, and Robert, unwilling to hang back and show himself a coward before the bystanders, was forced to do the same. He gives a graphic account of the unpleasant sensations caused by his experience, and then goes on to relate how, afterwards, when the beggars were to receive food and alms, the leper mysteriously disappeared, and could not

[1] *P.C.*, 53. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.

again be traced, in spite of the persistent efforts of Louis to bring him back.[1]

The last glimpse which we catch of Louis and his brothers at Barcelona is on the occasion of their attendance at the Provincial Chapter of the Franciscan Order held in that city in 1294,[2] when Louis made a public discourse and commended himself, his brothers, and his parents, to the prayers of the assembled friars.[3] Shortly after this incident the boys were taken back to Cuirana, and with their return we may fitly close this account of the general manner of Louis' life during his years of captivity in Catalonia. We must now turn to a consideration of those influences which, steadily at work throughout his sojourn at Cuirana, induced him to become a priest, and to account his dearest wish to be his reception, as a friar, into the Franciscan Order—influences so strong and all-pervasive that when Charles II came to fetch home his sons from Aragon he found Louis, now his heir, already marked with the tonsure, and, as the young man fondly believed, beyond the reach of worldly schemes and royal machinations.

[1] *P.C.*, 95-96. Testimony of Fr. Adam. Cf. account given in *Vita*, cc. 40 and 41, in *A.B.*, IX, 311-312. We are here given to understand that it was on his way to church on Good Friday that Louis saw the leper, and that he would have kissed him publicly had he not feared to offend his brother, Robert. In the afternoon he repented of his lack of courage, sent for the leper and embraced him, whereupon Robert was moved to do likewise. On Easter Eve, as the brothers were on their way to the Dominican church to see a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, preserved there as a relic, Louis sent to the leper hospital asking that an inmate might be sent to the church porch for him to kiss publicly before the eyes of Barcelona. The prince was, however, frustrated in his rather ostentatious design by a strict rule of the city that no leper might pass through its streets except on Good Friday.

[2] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 1294, V, xviii, 328.

[3] *P.C.*, 66. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi. He was Minister-General of the Franciscan Order from 1289-1295.

III.

LOUIS AND THE FRANCISCAN ORDER AT THE CLOSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, 1294-1295.

The secular side of the education received by Louis and his brothers during the period of their detention in Catalonia is of very secondary importance compared with the religious environment in which those seven years were passed. The dominating influence in the lives of the three young Angevin princes was Franciscanism, and Franciscanism, moreover, of the pronounced "Spiritual" type.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, as is well known,[1] the Franciscan Order had already fallen far short of the high ideals which had witnessed its birth; barely four years after its founder lay dying at Assisi the first attempt was made to strip his "Lady Poverty" of her worshippers.[2] The difficulty experienced by the average friar in realising the life of renunciation as interpreted by S. Francis; the influence of ambitious Ministers-General, like Brother Elias, and of learned schoolmen, such as his opponent, Adam Marsh; the steady growth of numbers, entailing larger convents and more elaborate organisation—all these factors contributed, in their different ways, towards securing a relaxation of the Rule. Thus we find two warring and embittered parties springing up within the Order which had been created with the primary object of ending strife and bringing about the reign of brotherly love on earth. On the one hand are the Conventuals,

[1] See A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena*, c. 1 (1913).

[2] 28th September, 1230. Bull of Gregory IX, *Quo elongati a saeculo*, which declared that the Testament of S. Francis was not binding on the Order, because, for one thing, it had not been agreed to by the whole body of friars. See *B.F.*, I, LVI, 68-70.

that is, the large majority of the Order, standing for compromise, congregated chiefly in big town convents, and approximating more closely every year to other religious in their increased splendour, and in their ever-growing interference in affairs of Church and State. Opposed to the Conventuals are the much smaller band of Zealots, or Spirituals, followers of the primitive Rule of poverty and humility. These men, clinging desperately to the Testament of S. Francis, which was being torn from them by their antagonists, often retreated to solitary hermitages for the purpose of cultivating the contemplative life and for the meditation of mystical writings, more especially those of Joachim of Fiore, the Calabrian half-heretic mystic of the previous century.

It would be a mistake, however, as Mr. Howell has pointed out, to suppose that all the Conventuals were as lax in their lives as is represented by their opponents. As is the case in nearly all quarrels originating within a society, there was not lacking a middle party in the Franciscan Order, headed by a considerable number of influential friars. He sums up the aim of this party as being conscientiously to obey their founder's Rule as modified by subsequent papal decrees, and, while opposing the lawless conduct of the Zealots, to prevent the growth of laxity on the part of the Conventuals. Mr. Howell further pronounces that "the most perfect example of this type of Conventual friar is undoubtedly S. Bonaventura," Minister-General of the Order from 1257 to 1274, but a better representative would perhaps be John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, while an ardent opponent of laxity and abuses, nevertheless, although unwillingly, allowed the positions of primate and friar to be united in his person. Unfortunately, however, as usually happens, the moderate men did not evoke great enthusiasm or command any large following. They could not keep in check either of the other two parties, which is scarcely surprising, considering that the middle party was strangely illogical, while both Conventuals and Spirituals were strictly the reverse.

During the early years of the struggle the Conventual party undoubtedly had the advantage. The erection of the great basilica at Assisi, under the auspices of Friar Elias, lent the protection of authority to their claims. Moreover, the fact that Popes

Gregory IX and Innocent IV acquiesced in the existing, rather than in the ideal, condition of affairs within the Order, brought them prestige and strengthened their position. Gregory's Bull, *Quo elongati a saeculo* (1230), was a serious blow to the Zealots, for it placed them in the difficult position of being rebels either to the Pope or to their founder. The Pope declared that the Testament of S. Francis, which, unlike the Rule, was only morally binding on his followers, was no longer obligatory upon them in any way. Further, he announced that literal observance could be required only of those Counsels of the Gospel expressed in the Rule either by way of command or prohibition. Lastly, Gregory established an ingenious means of facilitating necessary purchases by friars. An agent (*nuncius*) could be employed by them in commercial transactions, with the proviso that he was to be recognised as the agent of the persons supplying the friars with purchase money. Fifteen years later (14th November, 1245) *Quo elongati* was followed by Innocent's *Ordinem vestrum.*[1] Among other provisions this relaxed the conditions by which purchases might be made through agents, and, further, these purchases were extended from the category of things necessary to include things useful and convenient.

So far the Conventual party had been triumphing all along the line, but by the close of the century the Spirituals had undoubtedly gained ground. The support of Nicholas III, whose Bull *Exiit qui seminat* (14th August, 1279) tended to rein in the Conventuals more tightly while upholding Gregory's decision that the Testament was not binding, was of great service to the party of reform.[2] The moderate character of Nicholas' provisions, to which it has been said that S. Francis himself could scarcely have refused his consent, ought, one would imagine, to have produced some settlement between the contending factions. The Bull had, however, quite opposite results. By buoying up the hopes of the Spirituals it made the strife more equal and, in consequence, more intense. Yet at this time, when Louis and his brothers were beginning to come under Franciscan influences, the bitter warfare which was to disgrace the pontificate of John XXII,

[1] See *B.F.*, I, CXIV, 400-402.

[2] See *B.F.*, III, CXXVII, 404-417.

the division into four bigoted and antagonistic sects, above all, the fierce and even repulsive fanaticism of the *Fraticelli*, were all things of the future. Reaction had not, as yet, passed the bounds of sanity, and the teaching of the strict Minorites of Louis' youth was the real teaching of S. Francis.

Is it making too great an assumption to suppose that the Friars Minor to whom was entrusted the education of the captive sons of Charles II of Sicily were ardent adherents of the Spiritual party? Peter Scarrerii was evidently a personal friend of the famous Peter Johannis Olivi,[1] and it is to his influence and to that of Francis le Brun, whose opinion ever had the greatest weight with Louis, that we may reasonably attribute the invitation issued to this great Spiritual leader by the three boys to come to visit them at Cuirana. It was probably also due to the enthusiasm of Francis and Peter that Louis and his brothers were present at the meeting of the Provincial Chapter of the Franciscan Order held at Barcelona in 1294. The boys' tutors would be the more anxious for their attendance as the Chapter was presided over by the Minister-General himself, Raymond Gauffridi, a good friend to the Spirituals. Elected in 1289, he made it the chief aim of his generalship to protect the Zealots, with whose ideas he had much sympathy. Unfortunately, his policy was regarded with disfavour by Boniface VIII, and resulted in his deposition six years later, whereupon he espoused the Spiritual cause with even greater ardour than before.[2] We know that Louis entered into discussion with Raymond on the occasion of the Chapter meeting at Barcelona, and it is not improbable that the prince's conversations with this notable Franciscan reformer did much to strengthen the impressions already made by the teaching of his zealous tutors.

On consideration, it is puzzling to know by whose design this dominating Franciscanism was introduced into the upbringing of the Angevins. At first sight one would imagine that Charles II must have been an ardent supporter of these early Spirituals, but this is far from being the case. Although a pious man, as

[1] Ehrle, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[2] René de Nantes, *Histoire des Spirituels dans l'Ordre de Saint François,* 291 and 302.

the Middle Ages reckoned piety, and a member of the Third Order of S. Francis, he was not in sympathy with the aims of the Spirituals, at any rate at this period of his life. Thus he supported John of Murro and Gonsalvo of Bilboa against Liberato and Clareno, and took the side of the Papacy and the Minister-General of the Order when, in 1304, the Spiritual refugees from Greece sought an asylum in Naples. As we shall see, the King was bitterly opposed to Louis' later resolution to become a friar, and did all that he could to dissuade him from his purpose. From a sentence in a letter from Olivi to the three boys, written in 1295, to which we shall have occasion to refer presently at greater length, it is clear that Charles' attitude was even then well known. Olivi says, " It has been told me by a trustworthy person, that your father also has been afraid that you would be turned into *béguins*, or to speak more clearly, that you would become obsessed by things divine through the eloquence of my lips."[1] One is inclined, therefore, to conclude that perhaps the children's mother, Mary of Hungary, a friend to the Spirituals and a really religious woman, was chiefly concerned in the matter of her sons' Franciscan entourage. Her daughters Blanche and Eleanor shared her aversion to display, a trait probably due to her teaching, and Arnold of Villanova held up Eleanor, the young Queen of Sicily, as a model to others on account of her simple tastes.[2] Charles, probably at first indifferent, and remaining so as long as the boys were still children, began to get anxious as they grew older and more susceptible to such influences, lest their Franciscan entourage should turn them, as Olivi puts it, into " begging brethren."

It is to his father's wishes, indeed, that we may attribute the possible presence of the anti-Olivite, William of Falgar, about Louis' person during his detention in Aragon, and the certain presence of Falgar and Richard de Mediavilla during his year of seclusion in Naples after the return from Spain. But Charles II's anxiety came too late ; the mischief, from his point of view, had been done. Louis' closest friends ever remained Spirituals.

[1] F. Ehrle, *Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften,* in *Archiv für Litteratur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters,* III, 539.

[2] P. Diepgen, *Arnald von Villanova als Politiker und Laientheolog,* 90 (1909).

Two of the most distinguished of these were William of Cornillon and Raymond Gauffridi. William, who was called up as the first witness in the Process of Canonisation, and is mentioned in Louis' will, became in 1309 guardian of the Franciscan convent at Arles. Raymond, between whom and Louis a great intimacy, probably originating in the Barcelona discussions, appears to have sprung up, was also a witness to his friend's sanctity of life. These two men head the list of the representatives of the Spiritual party summoned to a conference with the Conventuals by Clement V, at the instigation of Charles II of Sicily, in the autumn of 1309.[1] Nor did Louis' enthusiasm stop at sympathy with exponents of the Spiritual cause. He actually entered the Franciscan Order and resigned all his worldly prospects; while Robert, reversing his father's policy, became the patron of the later *Fraticelli*, a distinction which he shared only with the somewhat eccentrically devout House of Majorca.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that an impressionable boy, such as Louis must have been, should have eagerly responded to the Franciscan influence. While he was at Cuirana occurred the first crisis of his life. He took a vow that, after he was free, he would enter the Franciscan Order. Since this vow was an event of supreme importance in Louis' life, and is frequently referred to in the Process of Canonisation, it is very disappointing that that document does not afford any very precise information regarding it. John of Orta, on the other hand, relates the following circumstantial story.[2] He tells us that at Cuirana, one January, Louis fell dangerously ill, vomiting blood and showing altogether such alarming symptoms that the physicians feared that his lung was pierced and began to despair of saving him. On the vigil of the Purification of Our Lady[3] difficulty of breathing set in and hope was abandoned. The boy, however, made a vow to God, Our Lady, and S. Francis that, if he were cured, he would one day assume the habit of a Friar Minor; and on his recovery Louis determined upon a formal renewal of his sick-bed resolve. The following Whitsuntide, entering the castle

[1] René de Nantes, *op. cit.*, 320.
[2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 5, in *A.B.*, IX, 285.
[3] 1st February.

chapel at Cuirana, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,[1] he knelt before the altar and there repeated his promise to consecrate his life to God's service as a member of the First Order of S. Francis.

It is a curious fact that none of the witnesses in the Process of Canonisation mention this illness nor the precise circumstances under which the vow and its formal renewal were made. Even Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii only heard of the vow afterwards from Louis himself.[2]

Unfortunately, although the fact of its having been made is certain, it is not possible to date within a year or two Louis' Pentecostal vow; but we are fairly safe in assuming that it probably took place during the first period of detention at Cuirana, that is, before the princes' removal to Barcelona in 1293-1294. It can scarcely have been made as late as 1295, after the reception of the tonsure and four minor orders.

In the life by P. Calò it is asserted that it was at the age of sixteen that Louis made up his mind to enter the Order when he should be free, and that it was his father's desire that he should have Provence and marry the sister of the King of France (obviously a mistake for Aragon) which drove him to make the vow in the chapel.[3] It is possible that some truth lies behind this statement, although Calò has placed the incident too early. At the end of 1293 negotiations (which proved abortive) were entered into between James II of Aragon and Charles II of Sicily, one of the proposed stipulations of peace being that James would give his sister, Violante, in marriage either to Louis or Robert. In return, Charles was to bestow upon whichever son was chosen either the Principate of Salerno or the Duchy of Amalfi.[4] But however this may be, from the moment, whenever the exact moment may have been, that Louis gave expression to his resolve of renunciation, the religious life was never far from his thoughts, and it is probable that it is from this time that we may date the

[1] Is Calò making some confused reference to this chapel when he says: "Ad capellam beate Virginis visitandam, que in montem [*sic*] qui sanctus dicitur sita est, per duas leucas peditando accessit"? *A.F.H.*, I, 284.

[2] *P.C.*, 99 and 108.

[3] G. Presutti, *Una "Vita" Inedita di S. Ludovico d'Angiò*, in *A.F.H.*, I, 282.

[4] Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, Document 13, 23.

special austerities related by witnesses in the Process of Canonisation, and about to be described.

In order that he might the better escape comment or remark, Louis chose the night for his special prayers and meditations. Waiting until he thought that his brothers and Bermundus de Roca were asleep, he would get up and pass several hours in prayer, a fact attested by Robert, Raymond Berenger, and their faithful attendant. Robert, when Duke of Calabria, related to Friar Adam in their memorable interview, which will be described later,[1] his sensations when, waking up one night, he saw a figure clad in a white shirt lying prostrate upon the floor in prayer. The boy's terror was extreme until he recognised his brother, but after that he kept watch. Almost every night Robert used to feign sleep for a short while, and then he noticed that Louis, so soon as he thought himself unobserved, began his vigil, his hands folded upon his pillow, doing his utmost to avoid disturbing his companions or being seen by them.[2] Bermundus de Roca, too, was an occasional witness of Louis' nocturnal meditations, but he declares that he never saw the prince leave his bed, which he was afraid to do on account of the strictness of the guard.[3] It fell to the lot of Raymond Berenger, however, to undergo the most terrifying experience. The little boy was wakened from sleep one night by a noise and light, and beheld Louis attacked, as it seemed to him, by a fierce cat [4]—the Devil in bestial form. But as he waited, horror-struck, for his brother's death, Raymond Berenger saw him make the sign of the Cross and immediately the loathsome apparition disappeared.[5] One suspects that the emotional excitements of these vigils must have gone far to undermine Louis' health and that they contributed in no small degree to his early death.

[1] See pp. 182-183. [2] *P.C.*, 95. Testimony of Fr. Adam.

[3] *P.C.*, 36. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[4] "In specie cati horribilis diabolus apparuit."

[5] *P.C.*, 36. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca. *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 13, in *A.B.*, IX, 290-291. Bermundus declares that the story was related to him and two other members of Louis' household by Raymond Berenger at Rome during the saint's lifetime. That would probably be at Christmas, 1296, when Louis was consecrated Bishop of Toulouse. *Capitulum generale* xxj and the *Vita* say that Raymond obeyed Louis' injunction not to reveal the incident during his (Louis') lifetime.

By the date of the brothers' return to Cuirana, in 1294, Louis had reached the age of twenty, and hopes of release from captivity seemed as far from realisation as ever. It was probably now some time since the prince had made his vow to become a friar, and he must have been beginning to get impatient to take some step towards realising his ambition, hostage though he was. On one thing he seems to have been determined: that he would not remain a layman.

The story of Louis' reception at Cuirana of his first tonsure and of the four minor orders (i.e., those of acolyte, janitor, exorcist, and reader) is one of peculiar interest. In the first place, he did not receive them, as he should normally have done, from the hands of a bishop, or even from those of a cardinal priest or cardinal deacon or privileged abbot, who, under special circumstances, were allowed to confer them. Louis was tonsured and ordained by a simple priest, his chaplain and confessor, Friar Francis le Brun. In the second place, the whole episode is interesting because, while the tradition has long been that Louis received these orders in captivity, Verlaque and the compilers of the *Gallia Christiana* have thrown discredit on the story, declaring that the papal Bull dealing with the subject (which was their only evidence for its truth) was not genuine.[1] But, as in other instances of obscurities in Louis' life, the Process of Canonisation, which was unknown to these writers, brings certainty, and we find from it that the contents of the first part of the suspected Bull at any rate are proved to be trustworthy by the testimony of that important witness Friar Francis le Brun himself.

In July, 1294, Peter Morone, the Abruzzi hermit, was elected to fill the chair of S. Peter as Pope Celestine V. Few Popes present a greater enigma than Celestine. It is an enigma hard to be solved, moreover, since we have no full register of his official acts, all these having been annulled by his successor, Boniface VIII. The problem created by Celestine's brief pontificate of five months is this. How could one who has always been claimed

[1] See Appendix A, where this Bull and another suspected one, conferring upon Louis the administration of the archbishopric of Lyons, are given *in extenso*. The originals have not been traced.

as an ardent supporter of the extreme Spirituals be at the same time the tool and protégé, which he is universally represented to be, of the anti-Spiritual Charles II?

It is an undoubted fact that the Zealots rejoiced in Celestine's accession because they saw in it the fulfilment of Joachim of Fiore's prophecy that the reign of the Holy Spirit ruling through the monks was at hand. They even went so far as to style him the first legitimate Pope since the Donation of Constantine. The extreme fanatics certainly made free use of his name both before and after his death, and it is a fact that Celestine permitted the extreme Spirituals to live as hermits according to the Franciscan Rule and under obedience to Franciscan superiors. In return, these hermit-friars called themselves after the Pope (*Pauperes eremitales Domini Celestini*), but they were suppressed in 1302 by the anti-Zealot Boniface VIII. How much the extremists used his name and how much he really sympathised with them is open to question. The relation of Celestine to the extreme Franciscans is wrapped in obscurity, and requires thorough investigation.

Granted, however, that the Spiritual party may have assumed greater friendship on Celestine's part than he really professed, and certainly far greater strength of will, Charles II's attitude is at first sight rather difficult to understand, especially when it is commonly supposed that the King procured his election. Giovanni Villani,[1] for instance, tells us that he did so, but it is not the case. Celestine's predecessor, Nicholas IV, died on 4th April, 1292, but the conclave of cardinals was divided and could arrive at no decision as to a new Pope. Charles, who needed papal support for the recovery of Sicily, visited Perugia, the scene of the conclave, in the spring of 1294, but his interference only exasperated the cardinals. At last, in despair, Latino Orsini suggested Peter Morone. Thus Celestine's election had nothing to do with Charles; he had not deliberately worked for a Zealot Pope, when an anti-Zealot himself, as is often supposed. Nevertheless, he was delighted at the event, because, more astute than the extremists, he probably realised the weakness of the old man who had been his subject, and that he would be able to do with

[1] *Storia*, Bk. VIII, c. 5.

him as he pleased. For some time, indeed, Celestine did whatever Charles bade him. Thus he consented to be crowned at Aquila instead of at Perugia, summoned the entire Curia to repair to him at Naples, and took up his permanent abode at Castel Nuovo. It was Charles' excessive exploitation that resulted in the end in the resignation of his puppet.

Seeing in Celestine a Spiritual champion, and probably encouraged by his tutors, who must, of course, have welcomed his desire to become a clerk and later a friar as the culmination to which all their teaching had been leading, Louis appears to have written to the new Pope to express his earnest wish on the subject. In the suspected Bull of 9th October, 1294, Celestine writes to Louis: "Since you have desired to serve the Lord in the clerical habit, we have lately, in response to the earnestness of your supplication, conceded the power, by another letter, to our beloved son, Friar Francis of Apt, of the Order of Friars Minor, to confer upon you, who are detained as a hostage by the enemies of the Church, the first tonsure and all the minor Orders." We cannot give the results of this reply better than in the words of Francis himself.

The future Bishop of Gaeta tells us that—

> "while he was in the castle of Cuirana he received apostolic letters in which Lord Celestine, at that time supreme Pontiff, commanded him that he should tonsure Lord Louis, and further ordain him to the four minor orders. On receipt of these letters he [Francis] was seized with great terror, both on his own account and on that of Lord Louis and his brothers, by reason of the diligent watch which the guards maintained about Lord Louis and the rest, lest any change, however small, should take place in their condition."[1]

Francis then goes on to relate how, despite his fears, he determined to carry out the Pope's injunctions, trusting in God and moved by the ardour and insistence of Louis, who could not contain his longing to become a clerk. Accordingly in November, 1294, on the feast of S. Elizabeth,[2] or thereabouts, the ceremony took place, with the utmost caution and secrecy, in the presence

[1] *P.C.*, 110. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun. [2] 19th November.

of two witnesses only, namely Robert of Anjou and Peter of Cocharello, presumably one of the Provençal hostages. So great a hazard did Friar Francis think was being run that he would not summon even his *socius* because he was a Catalan.[1] Louis was unable to experience the fulfilment of his wishes without emotion. Francis le Brun says that "he first began to say the office appointed for the tonsuring of clerks [with which he had been provided by Celestine], and when he had come to the verse of the Psalm, 'The Lord Himself is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup,'[2] and especially to the words, 'It is Thou Who shalt restore mine inheritance to me,' Lord Louis, raising his eyes, pronounced them with many tears, so that the two assistants [Robert and Peter], seeing Lord Louis thus overcome, were themselves constrained to weep." Whereupon Francis le Brun speedily finished the office of tonsuring and proceeded to admit the prince to the four minor orders.

Thus the testimony borne by Francis le Brun in the Process of Canonisation fully bears out the contents of the first portion of Celestine's Bull of 9th October, 1294. The "alias litteras" (other letter) there referred to clearly means that received by Francis from the Pope. There is no longer any justification for Verlaque's doubt about the reception of the tonsure and four minor orders. But there is not a word in Francis' evidence or, indeed, anywhere in the Process of Canonisation about the Archbishopric of Lyons, the administration of which is conferred upon Louis by a suspected Bull of 7th October, and which is also referred to in that of 9th October. It certainly does seem strange that, if the administration of the Archbishopric of Lyons had really been conferred upon Louis, Francis le Brun should not mention the fact and that it should not find a place among the *capitula generalia* drawn up by the petitioners. One can only suppose that if the appointment had been made by Celestine and then cancelled by Boniface VIII, the petitioners might feel some hesitation in mentioning it and the commissioners in asking about

[1] Was this possibly Peter Scarrerii ? He says he was not present at the ceremony (*P.C.*, 101), and he is described as the *socius* of Francis le Brun (*P.C.*, 107 and 109). But Peter could hardly have been an object of fear.

[2] Psalm xvi. 6.

it. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Verlaque would still be justified in questioning the authenticity of the Bulls, for it would, moreover, have been a very extraordinary act to have conferred the control of an important and difficult province on a twenty-year-old absentee.

There remains another problem to be discussed in connection with Louis' reception of the tonsure and minor orders. Why was such excessive caution and secrecy maintained in the proceedings? Not only did Francis le Brun destroy the incriminating letter which he had received from Celestine,[1] but Louis continued to wear secular dress during the remaining period of his detention in Catalonia, while his tonsure was made as imperceptible as possible, consisting merely of the removal of a few hairs from the crown of his head.[2] There was nothing to show that he had changed his vocation. Francis le Brun gives us clearly to understand that it was the hostility of Aragon to the proceedings that was to be apprehended. He evidently considered that were they discovered the consequences to himself and possibly to his charges would be very terrible. Francis states that he was afraid to summon his *socius* to be present at the ordination ceremony "because he was of Catalonia,"[3] and stresses the fact of "the diligent watch which the guards maintained about Lord Louis and the rest lest any change, however small, should take place in their condition." But the question arises, why should Francis le Brun think that the King of Aragon would object to Louis' receiving the tonsure and four minor orders? Was it because it was a generally accepted principle that hostages must be handed over in the same condition as that in which they had been received, or had James II some special reason for objecting to Louis becoming a clerk while under his charge? It is possible that some rumour of the ceremony reached him, accounting for his furious letter of December, 1294.

At first sight it would seem natural to suppose that Louis must have received the tonsure and minor orders unknown to

[1] *P.C.*, 110.

[2] *P.C.*, 110, and testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii, 101. He says that the first tonsure was scarcely perceptible, but that Louis begged him to say nothing about it. Peter mentions the danger to be apprehended from the guards if they found out.

[3] *P.C.*, 110.

his father. In that case it is easy to understand why Francis le Brun should have feared discovery by the Aragonese guards. For James II would naturally have been very angry at being placed in such an awkward position with the King of Sicily who, when he found out what had happened, might well have been furious with Aragonese slackness. But there is a sentence in the Process of Canonisation which might mean that Charles was cognisant of the whole affair. After describing how he had destroyed the Pope's letter Francis le Brun says that "he believed, however, that the Lord King (presumably Charles II) had another similar letter, and so the King had told him."[1] Does this mean that at the same time that Celestine sent his letter of authorisation to Francis le Brun he dispatched another to Charles II informing him of what he had done? Or does it possibly mean that Charles afterwards obtained a copy of Celestine's letter to Francis le Brun—perhaps after the Pope's resignation? It must be remembered that this sentence in Francis' testimony was directed to proving that he himself had actually received the Pope's letter of authorisation, and as he could not produce the actual document the next best thing that he could do was to say that he thought Charles II had a similar one.

The idea that the King of Sicily *was* cognisant of the proceedings is borne out by the fact that, as we shall see later, when he came to Spain to release his sons, Louis immediately had a large tonsure cut by the Sicilian royal barber, donned the clerical habit publicly, and preached the sermon at his sister's wedding. The necessity for such extreme secrecy therefore remains something of a mystery.

But still Louis was not content. The Franciscan habit was calling him with even greater urgency, and he delighted to discuss with his companions what he would do as soon as he was free. Fearful lest, if he entered the Order at Naples, his father would insist on his enjoying peculiar privileges, he would discuss the possibility of an incognito flight to Germany, or some other remote country, where his identity would not be known. It was with great sorrow that Louis learned from the friar, whose advice he sought, that no friar could be received without re-

[1] *P.C.*, 110.

vealing his name, that any minister on learning it would be unable to accept the responsibility of receiving him, and that the King, his father, would have no difficulty in tracking down his hiding-place.[1]

It was while Louis was in this restless frame of mind that he appears to have felt a great longing to see and consult with the great Spiritual leader, Olivi. His admiration for this remarkable man, with which he seems to have inspired his brothers, led to an invitation from the princes to come and visit them in Catalonia. To the boys, with their training, a visit from Olivi, who had drawn down upon himself the wrath of the Conventual half of the Franciscan Order, and attracted the love and devotion of the Zealot section, would have been the greatest honour conceivable, but unfortunately it could not be accomplished. In a letter, already referred to, written from Narbonne on 25th May, 1295, Olivi sends his excuses.[2] After several pages of counsel and advice he thanks the princes for their over-humble letter, and then goes on to say that for three reasons he has found it better not to come to Cuirana. The first is that the visit may be displeasing to some who will think that Olivi is seeking promotion and honour, thereby causing him to lose influence over others. The second is that, although the Minister-General has accorded his permission for the journey, this permission is subject to conditions, and without perfect freedom Olivi thinks that it would be profitless for him to see Louis and his brothers. Finally, he feels that it would not be right to act contrary to their father's wishes. The letter closes on a note of encouragement and affection : these young " knights " are to rejoice rather than grieve under their afflictions, for Joseph was a prisoner and lived to become the ruler and saviour of Egypt and of all his father's house. Nothing could better illustrate how completely the Angevin princes had imbibed the Spiritual atmosphere than this interesting letter from one who is considered to be the greatest of Franciscan reformers before S. Bernardino of Siena.

[1] *Vita S. Ludovici*, cc. 37 and 38, in *A.B.*, IX, 309-310.
[2] Ehrle, *op. cit.*, 534-540.

IV.

ORDINATION, 1295.

The afflictions for which Olivi gave consolation were nearer their end than the writer imagined. In November, 1295, the long imprisonment of Louis, Robert, and Raymond Berenger came to a close. All these years the struggle between Anjou and Aragon had continued. In 1289 Charles II, contrary to the Treaty of Canfranc, was crowned King of Sicily by the Pope, an act for which he tried to atone by offering himself as a hostage once again. Two years later it had seemed that a permanent settlement was at hand between the two Houses, and it is interesting to think that matters had proceeded so far that on 14th April, 1291, Charles II actually wrote from Nîmes to Naples appointing John de Montfort Captain-General of the kingdom upon his approaching departure for Catalonia "for the liberation of our sons.'[1] On 1st June we even find him negotiating the marriage of Robert, should Philip, his fourth son, fail for any cause, with the daughter of Nicephorus Ducas, Despot of Epirus.[2] All these high hopes were shattered to the ground by the death of the young Alfonso III, his successor, James, being unwilling to accede to the terms arrived at by this Treaty of Brignoles. Towards the end of the year 1293, it is true, the Kings of Aragon and Sicily entered, as we have already seen, into negotiations, but these came to nothing. They are interesting, however, as containing the first reference to the proposed marriage alliance between Louis or Robert and James II's young sister, Violante, which was again mooted in 1295, and finally accomplished in the person of Robert

[1] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento*, i, xxxix, 53.
[2] *Op. cit.*, *Supplemento*, i, xli, 56.

in 1297. Wearied out, however, by the long struggle; seeing that Charles II, for all his promises, would never renounce his claim to the throne of Sicily; and, finally, bribed by the cession of Sardinia and Corsica, offered him in exchange by the Papacy, James in 1295 consented to a peace. Charles should receive Sicily and have his sons back; James would take the two other islands and marry Blanche, the King of Sicily's second daughter (as proposed in 1293): the Church would remove the interdict under which Aragon had lain for so many years, and the Papacy and the two Kings would form a genuine and invincible alliance.

It is easy to imagine the joy with which the three boys at Cuirana must have received this news, a joy scarcely damped, one suspects, by the tidings of the death of their unknown eldest brother, Charles Martel, who succumbed to a plague which swept over Southern Italy in the summer of this year. And here it may be noted, in passing, that afterwards this plague was forgotten, and people who, like Dante, were ready to believe the future King Robert capable of any crime, however black, declared that the popular young prince had been poisoned by his unscrupulous brother. The latter, however, in August, 1295, was only seventeen, and moreover far away from Naples, still a prisoner in Catalonia.

Charles felt the death of his eldest son keenly; he was, undoubtedly, a promising youth, and had already begun to take a prominent part in affairs of state, always acting as his father's Vicar-General during the King's frequent absences from Naples. According to the chronicler, Raymond Muntaner,[1] regarding his loss as a punishment for the long war, Charles hastened to conclude the terms of the treaty. In July he had gone to Provence to fetch his daughter, Blanche, and to make arrangements for providing her with everything requisite for her coming exalted position, and was still staying in the County, to which he was deeply attached, at the end of August. But now he delayed no longer, and after having signed the peace, the King of Sicily came to Perpignan with Cardinal William Ferrier (legate to Aragon), the Aragonese envoys, and his daughter, "very

[1] *Chronicle*, c. 181. Translated out of the Catalan by Lady Goodenough, Hakluyt Society, Vol. II (1920-1921).

splendidly and well accompanied."[1] As soon as James heard of his arrival, he and his youngest brother, Peter, left Barcelona for Gerona, whence his treasurer, Berenger of Sarria, was sent to Perpignan to confirm the treaty. This being concluded for the second time, the King of Aragon summoned to his presence Louis, Robert, Raymond Berenger and the other hostages. In this company, "with all the distinguished ladies and damsels of Catalonia," James repaired to Figueras, while Charles, Blanche, and all their company were lodged at Peralada. Then on 31st October, in the words of Muntaner, who gives a very vivid description of the whole episode—

> "the Lord King of Aragon sent King Charles his sons, and all the other hostages, and the Lord Infant Don Peter accompanied them until they were with their father. And if ever you have seen great rejoicing it was there, between King Charles and his sons, and all the barons of Provence and France rejoiced in the same way over their sons. . . . But greater than all was the joy my lady Blanche had of her brothers and they of her. . . ."[2]

Characteristically enough, this day of rejoicing was rendered memorable for Louis in another fashion. The vigil of All Saints, which witnessed the happy reunion of Charles II's long separated family, also saw Louis' public reception of the tonsure and clerical habit at Beltrano, a small place on the confines of Roussillon and Catalonia, which James II had chosen for the scene of his marriage with Blanche of Anjou. The tonsure, this time no make-believe, but one of normal size and shape, was cut by Thomas, the Sicilian royal barber, and the habit, consisting of a rounded cape, robes of a very dark blue colour, and sandals, all freshly made for him, were assumed and worn before the eyes of the assembled company.[3]

On 1st November, the Feast of All Saints, 1295, exactly seven

[1] *Op. cit.*, c. 182. [2] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

[3] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 44, 78, 110. The slightness of the first tonsure necessitated this second operation at Beltrano, nearly a year later. This has caused some writers, notably Muntaner, who seems to know nothing of the earlier ceremony, to state that Louis received the first tonsure and minor orders in November, 1295, at the hands of the cardinal who was sent to remove the interdict from Aragon.

years after the arrival of the three princes in Catalonia, the marriage of James and Blanche was celebrated at Beltrano in the church belonging to the monastery of the little town, a "splendid place and beautiful and important."[1] To add to the impressiveness of the ceremony Louis, the bride's brother, preached the wedding sermon at Mass before the assembled company, choosing the appropriate, if obvious, subjects of All Saints and the nuptial mystery.[2]

The day following, making no delay, Charles II and his sons and their retinue left Beltrano on the journey back to Italy. At the Pass of Panisars they were met by the King of Majorca, uncle of James II of Aragon, and his eldest son, James, a youth of about the same age as Louis of Anjou. During the week that the King of Majorca insisted on Charles and his sons spending at Perpignan, the two young men contracted a fast friendship, according to Muntaner promising each other that "what the one did the other would do also."[3] Louis, confiding to James his hopes of becoming a friar and renouncing the throne to which his elder brother's death had brought him a step nearer, seems to have found a willing listener. Persuaded by his new friend that he would be performing a noble act, and at the same time securing for himself the most enviable lot in the world, the Infant of Majorca was inspired with a similar ambition, with the result that when they parted a mutual agreement had been reached between the heirs of the unsuspecting Kings of Sicily and Majorca to the effect that each would give up the kingdom that might eventually be his and enter the Order of "monsenyer S. Francis."

All unconscious of the plot thus hatched against them, which was to make James of Majorca regret the day that he had ever allowed Louis within the confines of Roussillon to pervert his son, the two kings separated with many expressions of reciprocal good-will. Passing through Roussillon, the Angevins took the road for Montpellier, and it is recorded that at S. Thibéry Louis, encountering a beggar and having no money for alms, gave him the pair of gloves which he carried in his hands,

[1] Muntaner, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 15, in *A.B.*, IX, 292.

[3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

hoping to be unobserved. His act of charity, however, did not escape the watchful eyes of the Abbot of S. Victor's of Marseilles, who was a member of the Sicilian King's retinue and properly edified by the conduct of the future saint.[1]

At Montpellier a short halt was made, and Louis seized the opportunity to visit the Minister-Provincial of Languedoc, Bertrand of Sigoterio, in company with his tutors, Peter Scarrerii and Francis le Brun. Entering the Franciscan convent (where he made his appearance *in scolis*) [2] the prince repeated his vow, made at Cuirana, to enter the Order, and besought the Provincial and some other influential friars who were present to receive him on the spot. A short consultation was held, the results of which were bitterly disappointing to Louis. The friars of Montpellier feared the heavy displeasure of King Charles, who was actually present in their town. With great reluctance the Provincial informed the prince that he dared not admit him, whereupon Louis replied : " Henceforth, it is your responsibility, not mine, that I cannot enter the Order, as I have vowed to do." [3] Nevertheless, one cannot but sympathise with the line taken by Bertrand and his fellow-friars in this matter ; it was no light thing in the thirteenth century to incur the wrath of kings.

Despite his disappointment Louis preached publicly to clergy and people at Montpellier [4] and in the Dominican convent there,[5] before the journey was resumed, the road now lying through Provençal territory, ground familiar of old to the three princes. Aix was entered on 16th November, and here the boys had the joy of finding their mother.[6] Here also Friar Fortis joined the com-

[1] *P.C.*, 78. [2] *P.C.*, 118. Testimony of Fr. Barandus de Anicio, O.P.

[3] *P.C.*, 101 and 111. Testimony of Friars Peter Scarrerii and Francis le Brun. [4] *P.C.*, 33. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[5] *P.C.*, 118. Testimony of Fr. Barandus de Anicio, O.P., who was a student at Montpellier at the time.

[6] *P.C.*, 93. Testimony of Lambert. In spite of their long separation Louis carried his avoidance of women to such a pitch that he refused to kiss his own mother. *P.C.*, 99. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii. John of Orta adds Louis' sisters to his mother (c. 25, in *A.B.*, IX, 300). Alvarus Pelagius, who preserves the anecdote in his *De Planctu Ecclesie* (II, 73), makes it refer to Louis' return from Rome to Naples in January, 1297. He says : " Sanctus etiam lodoycus . . . cum semel aliunde veniens Neapolim accessisset, regina mater ei occurrens amplexata est eum et (more gallicarum et provincialium) voluit eum osculari, sed. . . ."

pany, together with other of the princes' old Provençal attendants, and there began that discussion, theological and philosophical, already referred to, which lasted the portentous length of time taken by a mediæval journey from Aix to Naples.[1] No long stay was made in Provence, although Louis preached both at Aix and at Seillons.[2] S. Maximin was reached on 18th November and Brignoles, the boys' old home, on the 19th.

The next day the party arrived at Draguignan,[3] where the hospitality of the Franciscan convent was accepted for a night or more. This convent was notable for the entertainment of distinguished guests, and their visit seems to have made a great impression, although in characteristically different ways, on the minds of Louis and Robert. In each case benefit accrued to the friars as a result. The elder prince naturally entered into very friendly relations with them, and it is extremely probable that he paid them another visit in 1297. On one of these occasions they lent or gave him a breviary and responsary. When Louis on his death-bed disposed of his few personal possessions he desired that these two books should be restored to their original owners.[4] For some reason this wish was not carried out, but in the place of the breviary and responsary an illuminated missal written on vellum, which has always been believed to have belonged to Louis, was presented to the convent in their place, presumably by Charles II.[5] Louis also gave the convent at Draguignan his tunic as a token of friendship.[6]

[1] *P.C.*, 60. Testimony of Fr. Fortis.

[2] *P.C.*, 34. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[3] This stay at Draguignan is attested by a grant of Charles II to Francis d'Andrée of Meyronnes. It is stated to be in recompense of his care of his sons' health during their detention in Catalonia, and is witnessed among others by Bartholomew of Capua, Protonotary of the Kingdom of Sicily. F. Mireur, *Les Anciens Couvents de Draguignan*, etc., 255-256.

[4] "Item volo quod Officiarium et Responsarium, quae dedit mihi Conventus Draguigniani, reddantur illi."

[5] Fortunately, this precious relic was handed over on the eve of the French Revolution by the friars, rightly apprehensive for the safety of their treasures, to the Baron de Rasque-Laval, a friend of the house and a noted bibliophile. In his keeping the missal escaped destruction, and it is still in the possession of his descendants. F. Mireur, *op. cit.*, 256.

[6] Its history must at one time have been forgotten, for the guardian of 1744 discovered it in a cupboard of the sacristy, where it had been irreverently flung, and had it placed under glass. F. Mireur, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

Robert's connection with the Franciscans of Draguignan was much more prosaic, although far more advantageous to the house materially. It seems that in 1295 the friars, in common with all the other inhabitants, suffered great inconvenience through lack of drinking-water. This absence of a common necessity did not fail to attract the notice, and probably to arouse the disgust, of Robert, who did not forget it. Accordingly, when in 1321 a scheme to bring pure water to Draguignan by canalising the Thoron was carried into effect, the King willingly wrote to the town authorities at the request of the friars, desiring that the water should be taken as far as the convent. "When we were going through Draguignan once and stayed several days in the convent of the Friars Minor," he writes, "we could see for ourselves that the convent lacked water which was really drinkable." No wonder that the royal visit of 1295 has been described as "without doubt, one of the principal events in the convent annals of the thirteenth century."[1]

On 24th November the Angevins made their solemn entry into Nice, and after another week we find them at Genoa. Thence through Tuscany, by way of Vico, Viterbo, and Sutri, the company came to Rome itself, the very first occasion on which Louis and his brothers had visited the Holy See.

This visit to Rome marked the second crisis in Louis' short life. Just as, a boy at Cuirana, he had surrendered himself to God, and sealed that surrender by the reception of the tonsure and minor orders, so now, a man at Rome, he definitely showed that there was to be no turning back by his ordination to the sub-diaconate on Christmas Day, in S. Peter's, at the hands of Pope Boniface himself.[2]

[1] F. Mireur, *op. cit.*, 258. See also 258-261 and 364-365.

[2] *P.C.*, 61 and 101. Testimony of FF. Fortis and Peter Scarrerii. *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 44, in *A.B.*, IX, 314. John of Orta adds a very charming description of how before the ordination ceremony Louis acted as acolyte at the first Mass of Christmas in the King's chapel, sitting humbly and without any awkwardness before the altar among the boys who bore the candles. Later in the day he took his part as acolyte at papal High Mass. Cf. *P.C., capitulum generale* xxij, 14. "Acolittatum et minores alios ordines in medio puerorum suscepit humiliter." From reading this sentence in its context one might imagine that Louis received the minor orders during the journey from Catalonia to Rome. This, of course, was not the case. Either the implication that he

The accomplishment of Louis' purpose cannot have been achieved without a struggle. Charles II, on arriving in Catalonia, appears to have recognised publicly the fact that his son was a clerk. But no irrevocable step had been taken. The four minor orders do not involve any vow of celibacy, and it would have been possible to obtain a dispensation from them without much difficulty. It is surely no very great stretch of the imagination to suppose that during the long journey from Catalonia to Rome Charles and Louis discussed the question of the latter's future very earnestly. Was he to fulfil his vocation and proceed to the major orders, or was he to remain in the world and take his place as his father's heir? It is true that the Process of Canonisation passes over in silence the question of any struggle, merely saying that Charles was angry with Louis for riding a mule and not wishing to eat off silver,[1] and that he ordered his son to wear costly furs, suitable for a layman of his rank, during the homeward journey. To this last demand Louis very unwillingly consented, but at Vico, near Viterbo, "he altogether laid aside his furs and [costly] garments and dedicated himself to God; receiving garments of white cloth which is called of Narbonne, a tunic and *guardacorcium* [*sic*], and above a hood fashioned of camlet like a *béguin's*, and from this he had a cloak fastened to his breast, and he used to eat in this cloak."[2]

It must, however, be remembered that when the witnesses were giving their testimony Charles II was still alive, and that, although he had been unsympathetic with Louis during his son's lifetime, he was ready enough to exploit Louis' holiness after the latter's death. The King was extremely anxious for the canonisation to be carried through. It was, therefore, quite likely that any opposition which he might have offered to the fulfilment of Louis' vocation would be slurred over in the Process.

received the orders then is a slip on the part of the compilers of the *capitula generalia* (statements drawn up by a group of Louis' friends on which the witnesses were required to state their knowledge), or else "suscepit" means here that he discharged the office of the minor orders rather than that he received them.

[1] *P.C.*, 93. Testimony of Lambert.

[2] *P.C.*, 37. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

If, however, the Process of Canonisation maintains a silence on this point, the John of Orta Life (unless the author is simply giving rein to his imagination) quite clearly indicates that a contest of wills took place between father and son on the subject of Louis' future. He gives us to understand that two lines of attack were tried. On the one hand, Charles II attempted to appeal to his son's ambition, offering to hand over the government of Provence to him immediately and urging that he should take a wife.[1] The negotiations between the Kings of Aragon and Sicily in 1293 and 1295 seem to lie behind this passage in the *Vita S. Ludovici.* On the other hand, when he found that it was useless to try to move Louis by means of merely worldly arguments, the King seems to have changed his tactics and tried to win him by appealing to his sense of duty. John of Orta mentions that certain persons (he does not name the King himself in this connection) attempted to persuade Louis to renounce the vow which he had made, suggesting that it was to the interest of his father's dominions that he should not refuse to accept the burden of government which it was the will of God that he should bear. A little artful flattery was mingled with this appeal to the Divine will. It was insinuated that Louis' rule would be beneficial in the extreme, and not only so, but his own noble qualities would have greater scope and shine out more clearly before all the world.[2]

As might be expected of Louis, he merely replied to all these arguments that he would not do evil in order that good might come.[3] He had made his vow and he would abide by it.

It is impossible to avoid feeling considerable sympathy with Charles II of Sicily at this juncture. For it would be a mistake to imagine that the settlement of 1295 had composed his difficulties and reversed the disasters of the Sicilian Vespers. True, he had obtained the friendship of James of Aragon and the renunciation of the latter's claim to the island portion of his dominions. On the other hand, this renunciation was of little practical importance, except in so far as it made James his ally, on account of the disconcerting fact that the Sicilians, refusing

[1] C. 19, in *A.B.*, IX, 295-296.
[2] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* [3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

to come again under Angevin control, had chosen as their king James' younger brother, Frederick. This prince, who had ruled Sicily since the death of Alfonso III in 1291, and who had cause to be annoyed with his brother for not consulting him about the peace, was delighted to play the part of a national hero, and to show James that, in putting himself into the foolish position of a man who parts with that which is not his to give, he had reckoned without his host. Accordingly, Frederick was crowned at Palermo in March, 1296, and invading Calabria the same year took several cities, including Reggio.

Again, the Hungarian complication was a second serious problem which the King of Sicily had to face. In 1292, his brother-in-law, the evil Ladislas, had died, leaving no children, whereupon Queen Mary had claimed the crown of Hungary for her son, Charles Martel. She at once yielded up to him her right to the kingdom, and imperial pretensions being quieted by the fact that Rudolf of Hapsburg's daughter, Clemence, was Charles Martel's wife, all would have been well, but for the rivalry of Andrew, a member of the younger branch of the House of Arpad. This Andrew, being on the spot, had got himself crowned and secured the allegiance of the Hungarian nobles, who refused to receive the Angevin envoys. Nevertheless, an army was sent to Hungary, partisans came forward in Dalmatia, and in 1294 it was promised that Charles Martel should lead his troops in person. His untimely death, however, cut short these plans, and his rights in Hungary and Naples devolved upon his little son, Carobert, a child of seven years old.

Under these circumstances it can scarcely be said that Carobert's inheritance was in a prosperous condition, nor is it surprising that the rather helpless Charles II should have felt the need of a capable son. Hungary and Sicily each constituted in itself a problem more than sufficient for a grown man to tackle ; it was absurd to imagine that, in the event of Charles' sudden death, a boy of seven would be even the nominal ruler of both countries. Nothing, therefore, could have been more natural than that Charles II should have contemplated the division of the Angevin dominions. His grandson, Carobert, should have Hungary, and be sent to that country, money and men being

provided for its conquest; while his eldest surviving son would have Naples on his own death and doubly seal the Aragonese alliance by at once marrying Violante of Aragon, the young sister of James II.

This division and this marriage were both accomplished in 1297, but the son who took Carobert's place as Charles II's heir in Naples was not Louis but Robert. Nevertheless Charles II must at one time have contemplated Louis' filling this position. Doubtless the disclosure of his father's plans was a great shock to Louis, for, preoccupied in other-worldly affairs, it is possible that he was not intimately acquainted with the political problems of his House. His elder brother's death must have brought home to him his proximity to the Sicilian throne, but he may well have imagined that his little nephew's life stood between him and the prospect of succession. We can see in his promise to James of Majorca that "he would renounce the dominion which should come to him," the first hint of the dismay produced in him by the realisation that his father was planning to have him recognised as his heir in Naples.

That Louis was at one time regarded as Charles' heir is no mere assumption, as is proved by his formal renunciation to Robert of the rights of primogeniture and his claims to the Neapolitan inheritance. It would have been impossible for him to renounce that which he had never been intended to possess.

Thus Louis' great battle had been won and Charles, turning to Robert, found in him the capable son whom he needed, young, it is true, but trained in adversity, ambitious, and marked out for a military career; a son, in short, far more suitable for taking the place of Charles Martel than the spiritual Louis.

From Rome the way lay straight to Naples, and thus, after sixteen years, seven of which had been spent as a hostage, Louis returned, a total stranger, to the country which he had left as a child. From the Franciscan point of view those seven years of adversity had been the greatest blessing conceivable for the prince. Had he, at fourteen, remained in Provence, or returned to Italy, it is open to question whether Spiritual Franciscanism would have achieved what was, perhaps, its most signal triumph.

The prince certainly recognised the truth of this fact. While, doubtless, he was delighted to return home, he would ever confess the salutary effects of imprisonment, declaring, according to John of Orta, in the words of the psalm, "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil." [1]

[1] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 4, in *A.B.*, IX, 284.

V.

THE RENUNCIATION OF THE RIGHTS OF PRIMOGENITURE. LIFE AT CASTEL DELL' OVO, 1296.

It was at some date after the return of the three captive sons of Charles II to Naples that Louis made the solemn renunciation of his rights of primogeniture and claims to the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily referred to in the last chapter. Considering the significance of Louis' act, and how greatly it appealed to the imagination of his contemporaries, it is surprising that the Process of Canonisation is not more precise in the information which it affords about the ceremony. At the end of *capitulum generale* xxij we read: "Thus he aspired to attain to an everlasting inheritance, so that, utterly rejecting his temporal patrimony, he renounced the rights of primogeniture and the kingdom."[1] Only three witnesses, however, when questioned on the subject, say that they were present at the ceremony[2] and only one of these gives any details.[3] All that we can gather is that the renunciation took place at Castel Nuovo[4] at Naples in the presence of a large assembly of bishops, barons, and courtiers. The papal legate to the King of Sicily, Cardinal Landolph Brancaccio, was also present.

So much for the place where the ceremony was enacted. The question of its date next arises. The Process of Canonisation does not enable us to fix it with certainty, as none of the witnesses are questioned on this head. But it is noticeable that the sen-

[1] *P.C.*, 14.

[2] Bermundus de Roca, 37; Elzéar de Alamannone, 45; and Fr. Fortis, 61.

[3] Fr. Fortis.

[4] Elzéar's statement that the ceremony took place at Castel dell' Ovo is certainly a slip—*castro Ovi* for *castro Novo*.

tence relating to the event is the last in *capitulum* xxij, which is itself the first of those chapters dealing with Louis' life from the moment of his release from Catalonia in November, 1295, up till the offer from Boniface VIII of the bishopric of Toulouse in December, 1296. The sentence occurs at the end of the description of the journey from Catalonia to Naples, thus indicating that the ceremony had taken place in January, 1296. For the mention of Louis' later reception of the orders of deacon and priest in this chapter is anticipatory and merely occasioned by reference to his reception of the sub-diaconate at Rome on his homeward way. After the sentence about renunciation a new topic is introduced, namely Louis' general way of life during the year 1296.

That Louis' act of renunciation was made about January, 1296, seems to me very probable. In the first place, it had clearly now been decided that he was to enter the priesthood at any rate, and thus would no longer be in a position to fill the part of eldest son to his father. In the second place, we find that Robert was knighted on 2nd February[1] and created Duke of Calabria on 13th February, 1296.[2] From this time onward the title, Duke of Calabria, was borne by the eldest son of the King of Sicily instead of, as hitherto, that of Prince of Salerno. A week later Charles II, who was anxious to set his affairs in order, sent round summonses to all the justices of the kingdom concerning the calling of a *parliamentum* in March to discuss the manner of supplicating the Pope and the Sacred College to recognise Robert (instead of Carobert) as his successor in Naples.[3] On 24th February, 1297, Boniface pronounced his sentence in favour of Robert, though the sentence was vaguely worded. He declared that whichever son of Charles II had attained his majority at the time of the King's death was to succeed his father.

Riccio [4] and Verlaque,[5] however, declare that Louis renounced his rights in December, 1296, when he went to Rome to be consecrated Bishop of Toulouse. Verlaque's account of the events

[1] Riccio, *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 203, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1296, G, n. 87, f. 16v.

[2] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1296, G, n. 87, f. 75v.

[3] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento* i, xcix, 102, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1296, B, n. 82, f. 169v, and A, n. 81, f. 146.

[4] *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 60. [5] *Saint Louis*, etc., 101-102.

of December, 1296, is, however, extremely confused and not to be relied upon. We know from the Process that the event took place in *Naples*. It is possible, however, that the ceremony occurred even as late as January, 1297, when Louis returned to Naples from Rome before setting out to take up his duties in Toulouse. Robert was not *formally invested* with the Duchy of Calabria till 2nd February, 1297.[1] In this connection it may be remarked that in the picture by Simone Martini at Naples, painted *c.* 1317-1320, representing Louis bestowing the crown upon his brother, he is clad in episcopal vestments over a friar's habit. But that of itself is not sufficient evidence for dating Louis' renunciation *after* his consecration to the see of Toulouse. For by 1320 he was chiefly thought of as Bishop of Toulouse and a Friar Minor, and his appearing as such heightens the dramatic interest of the picture.[2]

Whether Louis immediately on his arrival in Naples renounced his rights or not, he seems to have been little interested in the cares of his father or in the society of his younger brothers and sisters to whom he was now introduced for the first time. He received permission from the King to retire from court and the family circle to the seclusion of Castel dell' Ovo, situated, as has been mentioned before, on a small island south of the city of Naples. Louis found this retreat, described by John of Orta [3] as "far from the haunts of men," more conducive to quiet study and reflection than the great royal castle of Castel Nuovo where he and his household were established by Charles on his first arrival in Naples.[4] Nothing appears to have been said for the present about the accomplishment of Louis' desire to become a

[1] Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento*, ii, XVIII, 19, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1301, F, n. 111, f. 278v.

[2] It is a fact perhaps worthy of note that Louis seems to have had no scruples about the passing over of his nephew, Carobert, in the Neapolitan succession. Nor does it appear that Dante, who inveighed so bitterly against this act, would have objected to it had Louis, and not Robert, been the "usurper." Thus it seems that the poet's sentiments were inspired not by any abstract desire for justice, but by personal hatred of King Robert. See *Paradiso*, Canto VIII, ll. 145-148. If these lines refer, as tradition has it that they do, to Louis and Robert of Anjou, then it is quite clear that Dante would have approved of Louis' succession to the crown of Naples.

[3] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 32, in *A.B.*, IX, 304.

[4] *P.C.*, 94. Testimony of Lambert.

friar, but he was allowed to prepare quietly for the reception of the orders of deacon and priest.

Charles, indeed, showed the utmost consideration for Louis. Not only did he give over to him the Castel dell' Ovo for the use of himself and his household, but he made his son an annual allowance of 4000 *livres couronnées* chargeable on the revenues derived from the counties of Provence and Forcalquier,[1] a handsome sum, amply sufficient for Louis' modest needs and for the fulfilment of his charitable schemes. Finally, as if to set the seal of his approval to his son's choice, the King made Louis a present of the *Summa Theologiae* of S. Thomas Aquinas, a work indispensable for his theological studies.[2]

While retiring from court and the lay society to which he so strongly objected, Louis gathered round him in his haven of retreat a little band of devoted companions, some of them old friends, others fresh additions to his household. As we should expect, the prince took with him his former tutors, Friars Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii, while the faithful Bermundus de Roca, who had been with him and his brothers in Catalonia, re-entered his service as cup-bearer in this new retirement. Of new friends we find Richard de Mediavilla, or de Menevile, Peter Cocardi, and William of Cornillon. Probably William of Falgar was also a newcomer. Durantus Curaterii, one of the Provençal burgher hostages, was rewarded for his long captivity by being given the post of steward of the household.

Richard de Mediavilla and William of Falgar each demand a word of notice as men of eminence within the Franciscan Order and prominent anti-Spirituals. The nationality and the correct form of the name of the first have proved the subject of considerable conjecture and controversy. According to the most recent

[1] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 86, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1294, A, n. 64, f. 202^{v}, 1289, B, n. 76, f. 119^{v}, and 1296, C, n. 83, f. 58, 236^{v}.

[2] Verlaque, *op. cit., loc. cit.*, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1297, A, n. 88, f. 265^{v}. The MS, which was procured through the medium of Fr. Peter, Prior of the Dominican convent of Aversa, cost 15 ounces of gold. It was bequeathed by Louis in his will to his friend, William of Cornillon. It may be remarked that the son of the man who was popularly supposed to have poisoned S. Thomas [see *Purgatorio*, Canto XX, l. 69] evidently had the utmost respect for his greatest work. No such murder, however, is to be reckoned among the numerous crimes of Charles I of Sicily.

authority, however, he was almost certainly an Englishman (probably from Northumberland) and should be styled either Richardus de Mediavilla (the Latin rendering of his name) or Richard de Menevile (the vernacular version).[1] Very little is known about the facts of his life, but he was certainly in Paris between 1283 and 1286. Acclaimed as one of the fifteen chief doctors of his Order, he was the author of several works, among them being *Contra Petrum Joannem Olivum*. He was appointed with others to inquire into Olivi's doctrines.

P. W. Lampen has clearly demonstrated[2] that Menevile was not Louis' master in Catalonia. But he is not justified in going further and disbelieving, as he clearly does, that Richard was ever Louis' master at all. He states that it is uncertain at what period and in what connection the two men came into contact. "Utrum hic audierit Ludovicum Barcinonae ubi Sanctus 'legit tractatus et logicalia et aliqua theologica,' an postea Neapoli ubi legit primum librum Sententiarum 'praesentibus multis viris religiosis et saecularibus' non liquet. 'Traditio' itaque quae educationem Ludovici nostro Richardo attribuit, nititur fundamento non solido, neque consecratur pluribus auctoribus idem repetentibus."[3] For P. Lampen is incorrect in asserting that in the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis Richard is only mentioned once, by Peter, Bishop of Troia, who merely gives evidence that he had heard from Friar Stephen de Lorrim and from Master Richard de Mediavilla how much they had been struck by Louis' wisdom as displayed in disputation, preaching, etc.[4] Richard's name does in reality occur in two other places in the Process: (1) in the twenty-third *capitulum generale*;[5] (2) in the testimony of Friar William of Cornillon.[6] Now the first of these references is of the greatest importance as affording indubitable

[1] Franz Pelster, S.J., *Die Herkunft des Richard von Mediavilla, O.F.M.*, in *Philosöphisches Jahrbuch* (1926). Cf. P. Willibrordus Lampen, O.F.M., *De Patria Richardi de Mediavilla, O.F.M.*, in *A.F.H.*, XVIII, 298-300 (1925). Both writers are agreed that the form Middleton or Middletown is incorrect, but Lampen maintains that in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether Richard was English, French, or Catalan by birth.

[2] *A.F.H.*, XIX, 113-116.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 116. Lampen also suggests that Richard might have heard Louis disputing at Rome or Toulouse. *Op. cit.*, 115.

[4] *P.C.*, 84. [5] *P.C.*, 14. [6] *P.C.*, 24.

evidence of when, where, and in what relation Richard and Louis were acquainted. *Capitulum* xxiij runs as follows :—

"Existens in castro Ovi, post susceptum presbiteratus ordinem, omni fere die postquam devote confessus fuerat Misse celebrabat officium, et deinde regulariter ad studium accedebat usque ad prandii horam, abinde non exiens. Et post prandium, se vaniloquiis non immiscens communiter intendebat collacioni alicui super materia theologica vel philosophica vel morali, maxime post adventum fr. *Ricardi*[1] de Mediavilla in theologia magistri, sibi in magistrum ac socium assignati."

No statement could be more explicit than this. It means that at some date after 20th May, 1296 (when Louis was priested), Richard de Menevile joined Louis' household at Castel dell' Ovo in the capacity of *master* and companion. William of Cornillon, questioned on this *capitulum*, vouches for its accuracy. "Interrogatus cum quibus conferebat in materia theologica, philosophica, seu morali, dixit quod cum fratribus Minoribus sociis eiusdem domini Ludovici, et cum fr. Ricardo de Mediavilla magistro in theologia, et cum aliis viris religiosis et secularibus litteratis venientibus ad eum." William was an inmate of Castel dell' Ovo himself at the time, so that he possessed first-hand knowledge of Louis' acquaintances.[2]

Thus we are brought to the conclusion that the tradition which spoke of Richard as Louis' master was wrong in so far as it called him the prince's preceptor in Catalonia, but right as to the main fact, namely, that he was at one time certainly "S. Ludovici Tolosani magister."[3]

As regards William of Falgar, it need only be added that he also wrote a book against Olivi. A Toulousain by birth, as has been mentioned already, he had a notable career, becoming

[1] Cod. *Raymundi.*

[2] It should be noticed that Peter of Troia was also a member of Louis' household at Castel dell' Ovo and therefore likewise a companion of Richard de Menevile.

[3] It may be of interest to notice that among the books belonging to Fr. Peter Scarrerii, Bishop of Rapolla, which King Robert presented to the guardian and convent of San Lorenzo, at Naples, in 1317, was "Quartum fratris Riccardi de Media Villa." C. M. Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo II d'Angiò*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 261.

successively Provincial of Aquitaine, Minister-General of the Franciscan Order, and Bishop of Viviers.

The presence of these friars at Castel dell' Ovo possesses a two-fold interest. In the first place, that such erudite foreign doctors should come all the way to Naples to instruct Louis is sufficient proof, even though he was a king's son, of the prince's reputation for learning and devotion. Secondly, we can, I think, quite clearly trace their position in Louis' household to an invitation from King Charles, who doubtless hoped that opponents of Olivi would imbue his son with rational doctrines and eradicate the Zealot ideas which he had imbibed in Catalonia.

Of William of Cornillon we have spoken elsewhere.[1] Friar Peter Cocardi, who became Bishop of Troia in 1302,[2] seems to have formed a close intimacy with Louis, who left him one of his Bibles and his copy of the *Flores Sanctorum*. Peter appears as the fourteenth witness in the Process of Canonisation. From the number of his personal friends, indeed, there can be little doubt that Louis must have possessed just those attractive qualities which inspire real friendship, where the length of actual acquaintanceship counts for nothing in comparison with the reality of affection aroused.

Surrounded by these friends whose aid he sought during his period of probation and preparation, it was not long before Louis received permission to advance to the diaconate. It was by his own express desire that he was ordained deacon without any mark of distinction, going up to the altar with the other candidates, as one of themselves. The ceremony took place at Naples, in the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo,[3] probably at the Lent ordination of 1296, and was performed (by permission of Philip, Archbishop of Naples) by Ralph, Patriarch of Jerusalem, at that

[1] P. 78.

[2] It is interesting to note that Peter Cocardi was the third of Louis' Franciscan friends to be made a bishop by Charles II's influence in the early years of the fourteenth century, Francis le Brun being appointed to the see of Gaeta in 1306, and Peter Scarrerii to that of Rapolla in 1308. These appointments show either a genuine change of attitude on the King's part with regard to the Spiritual party, or a desire to propitiate potential witnesses in the Process of Canonisation of his son that he was striving to set on foot.

[3] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 45, 61, 102, 111.

time living in the city as the guest of Charles II.[1] Three months later Boniface VIII sent a request, that was practically a command, to the King of Sicily, to the effect that his son should come instantly to Rome, as it was his gracious pleasure that Louis should be priested without waiting for the lapse of the customary year, and the Pope desired to ordain the young man himself.[2] Charles, always anxious that Louis, since he had renounced the world, should at least bring honour to the Royal House of Anjou by that act, urged his son to obey the papal wishes, but was met with an obstinate refusal. For all his gentleness no one could be more stubborn where his principles were concerned. Declaring with some justice that Boniface was making his ordination a special favour, and that in S. Peter's he would be the centre of a spectacular performance, Louis entreated to be excused. On Trinity Sunday,[3] 1296, he was quietly ordained priest at Naples by the Archbishop,[4] and immediately afterwards celebrated Mass publicly in San Lorenzo.[5]

Once more we are indebted to the Process of Canonisation for a picture of Louis' day, this time during the only year of his adult life which he spent in Naples. On rising from his bed, which was placed between those of his two friar companions,[6] Louis said his morning Hours together with Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii.[7] Their recitation over, the prince retired for a period of quiet study and at nine o'clock,[8] after confession, he celebrated Mass, never omitting to do so, except when prevented by illness or some equally stringent cause.[9] The interval between Mass and dinner was passed by Louis in solitary prayer before the altar of the castle chapel,[10] strict orders being given that no one, layman or clerk, should enter to disturb him, except the

[1] Ralph II of Granville, of the Order of Friars Preachers. Patriarch perhaps from 1291 ; recalled, whereupon he came to Naples, and was then reinstated. Made administrator of Brindisi by Charles II.

[2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 44, in *A.B.*, IX, 315. [3] 20th May.

[4] *P.C.*, 23-24, 45, 82. [5] *P.C.*, 38. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[6] *P.C.*, 102. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

[7] *P.C.*, 38, etc. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca, etc.

[8] " Tarda hora," as it is described by Bermundus de Roca, *loc. cit.*

[9] *P.C.*, 45. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone. It is not to be supposed that he confessed every day.

[10] *P.C.*, 38. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

steward of his household, whose duty it was to summon him to dinner. This duty proved to be one requiring much delicacy and firmness, for when the unfortunate officer entered the chapel to announce that all was ready, he found his master lost to the world and utterly oblivious of all outward things. Conscious, however, of a hungry and impatient "family," Durantus would risk Louis' displeasure by making a slight noise, but on this failing to rouse him, he was generally constrained to approach the prince and pluck his robe before he could succeed in attracting his attention.[1]

The midday meal was made by Louis the occasion of gathering together an assembly of learned laymen and clerks and of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, for the purpose of discussion and disputation.[2] Disputation, practically the one purely non-spiritual exercise in which he indulged, appears to have been with him a veritable passion. As soon as the reading from Scripture or the Fathers had been concluded, he and his guests joined battle, and in the cut and thrust of argument the gentle Louis was observed to grow quite heated and inflamed,[3] so that the controversy, begun at table,[4] would be continued long afterwards in the privacy of his own chamber. At last, after the arguments and the guests were both presumably exhausted and the latter had departed, Louis practised Mass music, usually to a Gregorian setting,[5] after which he, too, we are not surprised to hear, required to rest, though his period of repose was brief and taken, not in comfort on a bed, but only on a chair or stool.[6]

Always anxious to model his life as far as possible on that of the Order which he so passionately desired to join, Louis' room gave on to a cloister and a little garden.[7] In this cloister it was his delight to read towards the close of the day some among

[1] *P.C.*, 89. Testimony of Durantus Curaterii.

[2] *P.C.*, c. xxiij, 24, 38, 45, 55, 102. Louis himself never took any interest in the preparations for his guests, but gave orders to his steward to provide what seemed best to him. *P.C.*, c. xxviij, 89.

[3] *P.C.*, 38. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[4] *P.C.*, 45. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone.

[5] *P.C.*, 24-25. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.

[6] *P.C.*, *capitulum generale*, xxiv, 15.

[7] *P.C.*, *capitulum generale*, xxv, 15.

his many books,[1] theology or philosophy, as the fancy took him,[2] and when he wearied of study to take up his hoe and to tend the garden.[3] It is easy to understand that, lost in the writings of his favourite S. Bernard,[4] or musing peacefully among his flowers, Louis already half imagined himself a friar, buried in the peaceful seclusion of some distant convent.

Evening found the prince at Compline, at which he desired that his whole household should be present. The day ended for the household with the chanting of that beautiful anthem to Our Lady, *Salve Regina*,[5] which greeted Dante's ears the first evening of his journey through Purgatory, as he stood upon the threshold of the Valley of Negligent Rulers.[6] For Louis there followed another period of silent prayer within the chapel.[7]

After about eight months, the days of which probably varied only in slight detail from the typical one which we have just attempted to describe,[8] Louis removed from his quiet retreat at the Castel dell' Ovo to the Castel Nuovo, the great castle begun in 1279 by his grandfather, King Charles I.[9] But a great change in his life was at hand.

[1] Bermundus de Roca bears witness to the number of Louis' books. He says that his master had so many that six or seven sumpter mules were needed to carry them when he went on long journeys. *P.C.*, 35.

[2] *P.C.*, 24, 25, 38, 46, 55, 89, 102.

[3] *P.C.*, c. xxvj, 25, 46, 102, 112.

[4] The writings of S. Bernard chiefly read by Louis were : *Ad Eugenium III De consideratione libri quinque. Ad Senonensem archiep. De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus. Ad Cluniacensem Abbatem Gulielmum Apologia.* The work described as *Contemplacio* is probably one of the minor works attributed to S. Bernard. *P.C.*, 112 and n. 1.

[5] *P.C.*, 46. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone.

[6] *Purgatorio*, Canto VII, ll. 82-84.

[7] *P.C.*, 25, 38, 55, 84, 102. John of Orta says that sometimes Louis prayed at such length in the evenings that even his friar companions grew weary. *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 12, in *A.B.*, IX, 290.

[8] John of Orta (c. 35 in *A.B.*, IX, 307-308) has a story, not recorded in the *P.C.*, of Louis obtaining the release of some prisoners of his father during his time of residence at Castel dell' Ovo.

[9] The move to Castel Nuovo must have been made about September, 1296, since William of Cornillon (*P.C.*, 25) says that he resided there about three months. Louis left Naples in December, 1296.

VI.

THE RECEPTION INTO THE FRANCISCAN ORDER AND THE BISHOPRIC OF TOULOUSE, DECEMBER, 1296–JUNE, 1297.

In December, 1296, Boniface VIII made a proposal which caused considerable stir in the Angevin court of Naples. It was to the effect that Louis should become Bishop of Toulouse. The exact date on which the offer was communicated to Louis is uncertain, but as Hugh (IV), Bishop of Toulouse, died at Rome about 2nd December, 1296,[1] and Louis' consecration, also at Rome, took place, after some negotiation, on 29th or 30th December, it cannot have been much subsequent to the former date.[2]

The news of this offer was received with very different feelings by Louis and by his friends. It filled the former with consternation—he wept bitterly, we are told ;[3] while the latter hailed it with delight. Louis' immediate impulse, indeed, was to reject the idea completely, unless absolutely forced into acceptance by the express command of the Pope. This comes out very clearly from the evidence of witnesses in the Process of Canonisation.[4] He might well have based his refusal of the Pope's offer on the grounds of his extreme youth and recent ordination. Indeed, it seems possible that he did bring forward these facts as reasons for declining the promotion, since they are mentioned

[1] C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 515 (1898).

[2] I do not know upon what grounds Verlaque (*Saint Louis*, etc., 99) bases his assertion that "au mois d'octobre 1296 le pape Boniface VIII écrivit au roi Charles II, pour lui annoncer qu'il avait nommé sons fils Louis à l'évêché de Toulouse, devenu vacant par le déces de son titulaire."

[3] *P.C.*, 38. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[4] C. xxx, 15, 26, 38, 85, 112.

by Boniface in the Bull of 30th December, which will be discussed later. In this Bull the Pope gives Louis a dispensation from the disability of age, and appears to be attempting to lay to rest scruples entertained by the prince on account of his inexperience.

Other counsels prevailed, however. Charles II welcomed Boniface's proposal for a two-fold reason. In the first place, it meant the furthering of his ambitious hopes for his family in general and for Louis in particular: it would look well for the House of Anjou to have one of its members bishop of the large and important see of Toulouse. Secondly, the King was very anxious to remain on good terms with the Pope, and feared that a second repulse of overtures by his son would go far to endanger the Papal-Angevin alliance. It was well known that Boniface's temper was none of the most certain. To his father's commands, moreover, were added the entreaties of the Queen and of Louis' friar companions.[1] William of Cornillon acted as spokesman for these last.[2] It is very probable that both they and Mary were acting on the instructions of Charles. Ostensibly under the weight of so much pressure Louis consented to modify his uncompromising attitude and to go to Rome to discuss the matter with the Pope.

I have said "ostensibly," because we may well doubt whether this resolve of Louis, which was practically tantamount to a total surrender, was induced by obedience to authority, papal or parental, or even by the "many reasonings" of his friends.[3] He was never one to abandon principle under force of argument; that had been clearly shown by his first struggle with his father. Nor was he the man to give way in despair because his dearest friends seemed, as in this case those Spiritual friars must have seemed, to be deserting both him and their cherished ideals. Rather Louis showed on this occasion not only that he possessed a fund of quiet obstinacy, already displayed, but also a remarkable degree of quite worldly astuteness.

For in consenting to consider the acceptance of the bishopric of Toulouse Louis had an end of his own to pursue, and it was the hope of gaining this end that was probably chiefly

[1] *P.C.*, c. xxx, 26, 38, 103.
[2] *P.C.*, c. xxx, 26. [3] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

responsible for his change of front. As the year of retirement in Naples wore on the prince's hopes of becoming a Franciscan had seemed to fade further and further away into the distance. This offer of a bishopric appeared to him to be the final blow, and his first instinct was, as we have seen, to refuse it unhesitatingly. Then, in the course of argument, the idea must have flashed across his mind that here was a situation which, far from being detrimental to his hopes, was distinctly advantageous to them. For, by laying down the ultimatum that he would accept the bishopric on the sole condition that he was allowed to enter the Franciscan Order immediately, Louis was in an excellent position to force the Pope's hand. And this, apparently, without the slightest scruple the young man set himself to do.

Louis was accompanied to Rome from Naples, where the offer of the bishopric had, of course, been made,[1] by his father and Raymond Berenger. In spite of the difference in their ages, Louis seems to have been fondly attached to this brother. A suite of Neapolitan courtiers was in attendance.[2] The absence of the Duke of Calabria is explained by the fact that he was probably still engaged in a very different enterprise, the campaign against Frederick of Sicily, his first command.[3] Immediately on his arrival in Rome, Louis obtained an audience with the Pope. In this audience, the only witnesses of which were two cardinals, the prince unfolded his scheme with the utmost intrepidity ; either he must then and there be admitted a member of the First Order of S. Francis, or he would leave Rome, as he had come, a simple priest.[4] The Pope, seeing Louis' determination, and unwilling to make himself and the King of Sicily the laughing-stocks of Christendom, acceded to his request. In an ecstacy of delight, assuredly, at the unqualified success of his plan, Louis left the papal presence and hastened to tell the joyful news to his devoted friends, Friars Francis and Peter.[5]

[1] *P.C., capitulum generale* xxx, 15. "Consequenter cum summus Pontifex providisset de ipso absente ecclesie Tholosane. . . ."

[2] C. M. Riccio, *S. Ludovico d'Angiò*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 60.

[3] C. M. Riccio, *Roberto d'Angiò*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 203, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1295, B, n. 76, f. 271, 324^{v}.

[4] *P.C., capitulum* xxxj, 15.

[5] *P.C.*, 103 and 113. Testimony of Friars Peter Scarrerii and Francis le Brun.

Louis' triumph, indeed, was complete: his reception into the Order was to take place privately prior to his consecration. On Christmas Eve[1] he received the habit of a Franciscan Friar and made his profession in the house of Gerard Bianchi, Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, at the hands of John of Murro, Minister-General of the Order and later Bishop of Porto.[2] Gerard, on behalf of the Pope, enjoined strict secrecy upon Louis and upon those who were present,[3] and forbade the prince to wear his habit openly until he should receive permission to do so.[4] Louis, not having a habit of his own, Francis le Brun gave him his old one, which had to be shortened in the sleeves and tucked up in the skirts either because it was too big or more probably for the purposes of concealment.[5]

The object of all this secrecy must have been to keep Charles II in the dark—"to avoid offending his father," says John of Orta.[6] There is nothing to show that the order for the private wearing of the habit emanated from the King. Thus, owing to the Pope's apparent desire that he should remain in temporary ignorance of the step which his son had taken, Charles seems to have been quite unconscious of the presence of a friar's habit beneath the vestments worn by Louis on the occasion of his consecration as Bishop of Toulouse, which took place on 29th or 30th December, 1296.[7]

The Bull containing Boniface's formal nomination to the see

[1] P. Calò, *Life*, in *A.F.H.*, I, 287. [2] *P.C.*, c. xxxj, 26, 85, 103, 113.

[3] *P.C.*, 85. Testimony of Fr. Peter Cocardi, Bishop of Troia.

[4] *P.C.*, c. xxxij, 16, and 103. Verlaque is mistaken in saying that there was a public reception in December, 1296, in the presence of King and Curia at Ara Coeli (*Saint Louis*, etc., 101-103). He is confusing the private reception of December, 1296, with the public declaration of 5th February, 1297, to be described later.

[5] *P.C.*, 113. [6] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 22, in *A.B.*, IX, 298.

[7] According to Riccio, in *S. Ludovico d'Angiò* (*A.S.P.N.*, VII, 60), quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1326, A, n. 262, f. 100-101, the ceremony took place on 29th December. According to P. Calò (*A.F.H.*, I, 287) it occurred on the Sunday after Christmas Eve which, in 1297, was 30th December. Sunday seems a likely day, and, moreover, Boniface's letter to Louis, formally announcing his promotion to the see of Toulouse, bears date 30th December. It is curious that Gantelmus de Veyruna is the only witness who mentions having been present. *P.C.*, 72.

of Toulouse is dated 30th December, 1296.[1] The Pope addressed a letter to Louis of which the following is the gist. After careful consideration of the needs of Toulouse, Boniface has turned his mind's eye upon the prince, whom he has singled out as eminently qualified to fill the vacant see on account of his royal birth, reputation for sound learning, and shining virtues. Boniface goes on to speak of the impediment of Louis' "defect of years," for which impediment he has given him a dispensation, and to say that he has consecrated him, already a Friar Minor [2] and a priest, as Bishop of Toulouse with his own hands. The letter concludes with the confident hope that the Pope's belief in Louis will be justified, and that the see of Toulouse will reap innumerable benefits from his zeal and industry.

After a short stay in Rome Louis, attended by the same company which had escorted him thither, set out on 5th January, 1297, for Naples, where he arrived on 13th January.[3] As soon as the news of his approach reached the city a procession, headed by the Queen and her younger children, set out to welcome him. At sight of the youthful Bishop riding on his mule all knelt to receive his blessing, and Mary presented her son with an episcopal ring which she had had specially designed and executed for him.[4]

[1] M. Faucon and A. Thomas, *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, I, 2, No. 1521. The Bull is printed in full in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, No. ciii, Wadding, *Annales*, 1296, V, xxvi, 579, and without the exordium, *Fons sapientie verbum*, in Raynaldus, *Annales, ad. ann.* 1296, XVI. Potthast, *Regesta Romanorum pontificum*, No. 24444, puts a note to this Bull, "Num bulla spuria? Cf. 24742." No. 24742 is a letter, dated 25th October, 1298, from Boniface VIII to Philip IV of France, announcing that, owing to the death of Arnold, Bishop of Toulouse, he has translated Peter, Bishop of Carcassonne, to the vacant see. Arnold had been appointed to Toulouse on 2nd December, 1297. There does not appear to be any reason for doubting the authenticity of the Bull of 30th December, 1296. See *A.B.*, IX, 297. *B.F.*, IV, Raynaldus, and Potthast date it wrongly 29th December. Boniface wrote on the same day in the same vein to the Prior and Chapter of Toulouse, to the clergy of the city and diocese, the people of the city and diocese, and all the vassals of the see of Toulouse. *Les Registres de Boniface VIII, loc. cit.*

[2] It is strange that the fact of Louis' being a friar is mentioned when such secrecy was being maintained with respect to it. It is to be supposed that the communication was meant for his eyes alone.

[3] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 105.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 106, quoting *Reg. Ang.*, 1326, A, n. 262, f. 100.

On 25th January[1] the prince, having parted from his parents and relations, left Naples, as it was to prove for the last time. His intention must surely have been to go straight to Toulouse, where his duty undoubtedly lay, but once again Louis found himself in conflict with the worldly designs of Charles II. The King seems to have regarded his son's journey to France as an excellent opportunity for tightening the bonds of friendship between himself and his cousin, Philip le Bel. True, Paris could not be said to lie exactly on the direct route between Naples and Toulouse, but it would not harm the Toulousains to wait a month or two longer for their bishop, and Philip proffered a cordial welcome to his young relative. Moreover, it may have been considered fitting that, as Louis was to rule a French diocese, he should visit the French King. Probably Louis felt that he had offered sufficient opposition to his father, and so the matter was amicably arranged, although the new mood of acquiescence did not prevent the prince from remaining deaf to the entreaties of his friends that he would seize this occasion to receive the mastership in theology at the University of Paris.[2]

Louis reached Rome about the end of January. This third visit to the Holy See was signalised by his public reception into the Franciscan Order on S. Agatha's Day (5th February). It was natural that Louis should not only have wished to announce to the world the completion of his early vow, but that he should also have been anxious to put an end to a deception which must greatly have troubled his conscience. Evidently this feeling weighed with him more than the fear of his unsympathetic father's anger.[3] When Boniface gave permission for the open wearing of the Franciscan habit Louis took advantage of it without waiting to obtain his father's consent, although he was advised to secure this.[4] Charles, who was in Naples [5] (he appointed Robert on 2nd February Vicar-General of the kingdom during his impending

[1] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 108. [2] *P.C.*, c. xliiij, 63, 104, and 114.

[3] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 22, in *A.B.*, IX, 298.

[4] *P.C.*, 26. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.

[5] William of Cornillon seems to be mistaken in saying that he was in Rome on 5th February, although he was apparently there on the 7th. See C. M. Riccio, *Saggio*, etc., *Supplemento* i, cv, 106, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1295, 1296, A, n. 80, f. 245^{v}, etc.

absence in Provence), was naturally enough very angry when the news that his son had assumed the Franciscan habit reached his ears. We are told that his anger blazed forth against Louis and the Franciscan Order in general to such a degree that he declared that no Friar Minor should ever enter his household again.[1]

The scene when the fact that Louis was a Friar Minor was declared was a dramatic one. During his celebration of Mass in the church of the Ara Coeli convent, situated on the Capitol, on 5th February a stir was caused by the arrival of Matthew of Acquasparta, Cardinal Bishop of Porto and former Minister-General of the Franciscan Order, and James Tomasi, Cardinal Priest of S. Clement, nephew of the Pope. As soon as Mass was over, these two ecclesiastics approached the celebrant, informed him that he was now free to wear his habit publicly, and forthwith, his episcopal vestments cast aside, displayed him in it before the eyes of over a thousand interested spectators.[2] The cardinals then signified their desire to remain and dine with Louis in the refectory of the convent, as a mark of esteem. To this the prince consented, and partook of the meal with the other friars, clad in his newly-displayed habit, although his wish to serve the others as being the junior brother present was frustrated by the Count of Monte Feltro, a Minorite of Ara Coeli.[3] In the evening he was accompanied back to his lodging[4] by the two cardinals, riding on a mule between them. When these had taken their leave and Louis could

[1] *P.C.*, 47. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone.

[2] *P.C.*, c. xxxij, 26, 39, 47, 56, 85, 103.

[3] *P.C.*, 47. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone. This must have been the famous Count Guido (1223-1298) rendered celebrated by Dante in *Inferno*, Canto XXVII. After being a noted Ghibelline leader, he became a Franciscan at Ancona in 1296, but had evidently moved to Ara Coeli by the beginning of the next year. Unfortunately, the convent was almost completely demolished in 1888 to make room for the huge monument of Victor Emmanuel II.

[4] There is some divergence in the accounts of the witnesses in the *P.C.* with regard to the house in which Louis stayed. William of Cornillon (31) says that it was the house of "domini Benedicti quondam cardinalis et nepotis domini Bonifacii pape." Bermundus de Roca (39) confirms this, saying it was where "dominus Benedictus . . . habitaverat dum vivebat." The reference must be to Benedict Gaetani, Cardinal Deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian (died 1296). Peter of Troia (85) states that it was at the house of "domini Latini quondam Hostiensis episcopi," meaning Latinus Frangipani Malabranca, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia (died 1294).

demonstrate his delight unconstrained in the privacy of his own chamber, he removed his cloak and gazed upon his habit in true boyish glee. Nor was there wanting the finishing touch without which Louis' mediæval asceticism could not have been quite content. The discovery of a flea within the folds of the habit brought a smile to the usually grave face and the happy exclamation, "Thou excellent worm; that is of the Order."[1] Two days later Louis perpetrated an outrage which must have especially incensed his father. Summoned to the papal presence, the prince had the audacity to make the journey on foot, regardless of the "great mud"[2] and the greater convention that hedges kings and the children of kings. It was bad enough that his son, the Prince-Bishop, should be a Franciscan at all, but this flaunting of his "beggardom" must have been more than Charles could bear.

Rome, however, is but a short stage on the road from Naples to Paris, and Louis' affairs were, or should have been, pressing. The Toulousains had already been about two months without a bishop, while Charles II was anxious to hurry his son away to France. Thus, however much he may have desired to linger at Ara Coeli and to postpone the evil hour when he must subordinate the friar to the bishop, Louis was forced to continue his journey northwards with all speed. Naturally enough, the fame of his act of renunciation had preceded him, and he was the object, on his way, of boundless curiosity and no little genuine enthusiasm. Again he passed through Tuscany, which he had traversed under very different circumstances little more than a year before, halts of a few days' duration being made at important Franciscan convents on the route. At Siena he stayed with the friars and left behind him a Bible written with his own hand as a memento of his visit.[3] From Siena Louis went to Florence, where he stayed in the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce. After his canonisation, when his cult was becoming widespread in Italy as well as in Provence, the Friars Minor of both Siena and Florence were anxious to have some permanent record of these halts on what, in some respects, resembled a triumphal progress. Thus

[1] *P.C.*, 56. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus. [2] *P.C., loc. cit.*
[3] P. Ridolfi, *Historiarum Seraphicae Religionis Liber Primus*, 121v.

about 1330 Ambrogio Lorenzetti was commissioned to paint a series of frescoes portraying the life of S. Louis in the refectory of the convent at Siena, while at Florence we find several pictorial representations of his visit. In the refectory of Santa Croce is a fresco showing the saint serving meals to the poor, a service which tradition says that he rendered there, while in the Bardi chapel of the church itself is a painting of Louis generally attributed to Giotto.[1] This visit to their city appears to have created a great impression on the minds of the Florentines, and doubtless contributed a personal touch to the political choice of the saint as the patron of the fourteenth-century *Parte Guelfa.*

As regards Louis' journey from Florence to Paris, it is impossible to construct more than a very fragmentary itinerary. John of Orta vaguely says that, traversing the province of Lyons and Burgundy, Louis came into France.[2] But from scattered references in the Process of Canonisation, where trivial anecdotes are occasionally given a local setting, a little more can be gleaned. Thus we learn that Louis and his suite passed through Sarzana, situated on the confines of Tuscany and Genoese territory,[3] whence the route lay from Nice[4] through Draguignan,[5] S. Maximin,[6] and Tarascon[7] to Nîmes.[8] The next place which can be identified is Le Puy, in Velay,[9] while after that I hazard the conjecture that they passed through Brioude, in Auvergne.[10] For the remainder of the way to Paris I have come across no evidence for the route pursued. From the accounts of those witnesses who evidently suffered numerous discomforts on this journey, we gather that the spring of 1297 was a particularly severe season.[11] A combination of snow and floods rendered progress

[1] P. Beda Kleinschmidt, *St. Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst,* in *A.F.H.*, II, 197 (1909). [2] *Vita S. Ludovici,* c. 46, in *A.B.*, IX, 316.

[3] *P.C.*, 114. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[4] *P.C.*, 62. Testimony of Fr. Fortis.

[5] *P.C.*, 78. Testimony of William, Abbot of S. Victor's Monastery, Marseilles, Witness 11. [6] *P.C.*, 82. Testimony of John of Us.

[7] *P.C.*, 78. Testimony of William, etc. It took about fifteen days from Draguignan to Tarascon. [8] *P.C.*, 62. Testimony of Fr. Fortis.

[9] *P.C.*, 40. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[10] *P.C.* Four witnesses mention an incident as happening " prope Brinatam in Arvernia." *P.C.* 40, 48, 57, 104. Is this intended for Brivas (Brioude) ? [11] *P.C.*, c. xlij, 40, 48, 57, 104, and 114.

difficult and the crossing of rivers no inconsiderable feat. Thus it was not much before Easter Day (14th April) that Louis arrived in Paris and was met by envoys of the French King sent especially to welcome the young Bishop and his train. Nevertheless, Louis' good humour surmounted all difficulties, and it was with his usual unruffled patience that he celebrated a daily Mass, and cheerfully bestowed his garments on wayside beggars.

As we should have expected, Louis took up his abode at the house of the Friars Minor during his stay in Paris. Here, despite all protests, he insisted on rendering all the services from the highest to the meanest which, in their turn, fall to the lot of every simple religious. Thus on Easter Day after celebrating Mass in the church we hear of his washing the plates and dishes with the other friars,[1] and from want of experience not doing his task over well. Reproved in true Franciscan fashion by one of the brothers for his ineptitude, Louis humbly asked to be allowed to eat next day from the dishes which he himself had thus only partially cleansed.[2] Again, at table, following the custom established in certain convents, the Bishop took his share in the reading of prescribed portions of Scripture.[3] On Maundy Thursday, however, Louis occupied a more prominent position in the convent, and one which attracted the eyes of Paris towards him. Clad in the habit of a simple Franciscan without mantle or cope, in spite of his being a bishop, he preached to an assembly of clergy in the convent cloister. A carpet had been laid down out of respect to his high rank and office, but Louis had it removed.[4] He was extremely anxious to create an impression of humility. Accordingly, he obtained permission to perform the special acts connected with the solemn day, which, as has been seen, he had carried out with such devotion three years before at Barcelona. A hundred poor Parisians received food and clothing at his hands, and he afterwards washed their feet.[5] A like office Louis further performed for his hosts, the friars, with the most beneficial results, in one instance, at least. A certain Friar John

[1] Bartholomew of Pisa says that he did the same at Siena.
[2] *P.C.*, 56. Testimony of Fr. Raymond de Ficubus.
[3] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 44, in *A.B.*, IX, 315.
[4] *P.C.*, 30. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.
[5] *P.C.*, c. xxxv, 30, 39, 47, 56, 68, 90, 113.

Passavensis, dean of the faculty of medicine at Paris, who enjoyed a great reputation as a doctor, was suffering in his old age from dropsy. Shortly after the departure of Louis for Toulouse the aggravation of his disease induced John to call a consultation of his fellow-doctors, all of whom gave up his case as desperate. John, however, remembering the gentle saintliness of Louis, who had both washed his feet and administered the Sacrament to him, besought his aid in prayer, with the result that the old man was quickly cured of his malady.[1]

Louis, who seems always to have been on friendly terms with the friars of the rival Order of S. Dominic, visited the house of the Friars Preachers at Paris on Easter Eve, where he celebrated Mass, preached, and performed the Office for the day.[2] Before the conclusion of his visit to Paris and the French court, where he probably met his eldest sister, Margaret of Valois,[3] Louis was escorted to the university by Philip IV. Here, in the presence of the King and an assemblage of masters and scholars, the prince discoursed upon the beauty of humility and poverty to the wonder and admiration of his audience.[4] Again we are told that he was habited simply as a friar; there is something touching about the way in which Louis clung to this outward symbol of his being a Franciscan, which he knew must so shortly be exchanged for the vestments of a bishop.[5]

The exact date of Louis' arrival in his diocese it has not been

[1] *P.C.*, 68-69. Testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi. Is this Johannes Passavensis the same as the Johannes de Passaavant, at the University of Paris in 1289, who figures as a witness to a document of 30th August of that year (see H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II (i), 35)? Johannes de Passaavant is not described as a friar, but from the testimony of Fr. Raymond Gauffridi we learn that Johannes Passavensis was still undergoing his novitiate in 1297 (when he found himself cured he was tempted to return to the world, but a sharp fever cured him of his intention), so that he would not have been a friar in 1289.

[2] *P.C.*, 30. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon. "Sabbato Pentecostes" is evidently an error for "sabbato Pasche."

[3] Raymond de Ficubus has an anecdote (*P.C.*, 51) about Louis refusing to kiss Margaret which probably refers to the time of this Parisian visit, as it is difficult to see on what other occasion the brother and sister would have met.

[4] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 46, in *A.B.*, IX, 316.

[5] Yet even when installed in his diocese, Louis continued to wear his friar's habit, and he often went barefoot. *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 23, in *A.B.*, IX, 298.

possible to determine, but it was probably some time early in May. The Process of Canonisation is silent on the subject of his journey except in so far as there is an indirect reference in the testimony of Peter, Bishop of Troia, who was one of those who accompanied Louis from Paris to Toulouse. He mentions an occasion, on which he was present, when Louis celebrated Mass near Grandmont in the diocese of Limoges.[1] The only time when Louis could have been passing through Limoges was on his way south in the spring of 1297. John of Orta says, "at length through Orleans and Cahors he came to his see."[2] The duration of Louis' stay in Toulouse was extraordinarily short. It can hardly have been more than six weeks in all. This accounts for the fact that, in spite of the way in which the saint's name is indissolubly linked with that of Toulouse, we really possess less information about his episcopate than about almost any other period of his life. The Process of Canonisation affords very little information on the subject. A few more details are to be gleaned from the Life.

It is little wonder that Louis had regarded the prospect of his elevation to the see of Toulouse with consternation or that he had been in no great hurry to assume his new responsibilities. As Giuseppe Presutti has pointed out,[3] even the division of the diocese by the foundation of the see of Pamiers in July, 1295, still left a very large area under the young Bishop's control. Indeed it was so unwieldy that in 1316 John XXII, having elevated Toulouse into an archbishopric, created four suffragan bishoprics out of the ancient see, and shortly afterwards added two more. Moreover, this extensive diocese had become a hotbed of heresy and scandals, necessitating the presence within it of papal inquisitors and commissions of inquiry. Only the July before Louis' appointment to the see, the outrageous conduct of certain members of the cathedral Chapter[4]—"enormes excessus actusque nepharios quorundam canonicorum . . . qui dare non metuunt in commotionibus pedes suos"—had forced Boniface, on receiving

[1] *P.C.*, 86.

[2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 46, in *A.B.*, IX, 316-317. "Demum per Aurelianos et Cadurcum venit ad suam ecclesiam."

[3] *A.F.H.*, I, 281.

[4] This consisted of 24 Augustinian canons regular.

a pitiful appeal from the Prior of Toulouse, to send down the Bishops of Carcassonne and Béziers to examine into matters and report to the Holy See.[1] The state of affairs revealed by the Pope's letter is a very deplorable one. It appears that the Prior, backed up by papal authority, had "lovingly" admonished the Chapter of its evil courses, which consisted in keeping the gates of the cathedral precincts open to the public way, refusing to sleep in the dormitory or eat together in the refectory, wearing unseemly raiment, and walking about Toulouse at will. Nearly two-thirds of the Chapter gave ear to the Prior's reprimand, but no one can read the story of the ten contumacious canons, whose refusal to take heed to their ways produced the commission, without feeling sorry for Louis and the diocese which he was to rule. Even the sentence of excommunication failed to bring these hardened sinners to reason, and the shame of their behaviour was bruited far and wide. It is inconceivable how Boniface can ever have imagined that Toulouse, which obviously needed a very firm hand, could be brought into order by an inexperienced youth of barely twenty-three.

Yet brief as was Louis' connection with the see, it is quite clear from the available evidence that he put his whole heart into the work of administration and organisation entailed by his vast diocese, and into the reform of the clergy beneath his care. Moreover, he showed great strength of character and determination in pursuing his ends, qualities not usually combined with a shrinking from the world and its responsibilities. And this is all the more to his credit when we remember that even at the eleventh hour, at the time of his public reception into the Franciscan Order at Rome in February, he appears to have tried in vain to induce Boniface to release him from the episcopate.[2]

In the task of administration Louis was fortunate in securing the help and counsel of James Duèze, better known by his later title of Pope John XXII, who at that time was a teacher of canon law at the University of Toulouse. The experience of this trained ecclesiastical lawyer was invaluable to the youthful Bishop, who

[1] M. Faucon and A. Thomas, *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, I, 2, No. 1155. Mandate appointing the commission. This Prior succeeded S. Louis as Bishop of Toulouse in 1297.

[2] *P.C.*, c. xliij, 17, 27, 63, 104, 114.

had not even the ordinary knowledge of a parish priest to assist him in the discharge of his new duties. Louis had the sense to recognise his own deficiencies and the talents of Duèze, whom he promptly admitted a member of his household.[1] Like the majority of those with whom the young prince came in close contact, James Duèze fell under the spell of his attraction, accompanied him to Catalonia, was present at his death-bed, and appears as a witness to his sanctity of life in the Process of Canonisation. This sidelight on the early life of John XXII is full of interest, and helps to explain both his elevation to the bishopric of Fréjus in 1300, which was secured largely through the influence of Louis' father, Charles II of Sicily, and also the fact that it was he who actually promulgated the Bull which placed the Prince-Bishop in the calendar of saints.

With regard to his second task, the raising of the standard of clerical life and attainments within the diocese, Louis had already taken some important steps before his arrival. It was probably as a result of his visit to Rome, in January and February, that we find Boniface VIII granting him the following concession on 3rd February: namely, that the new Bishop had leave of the Pope to confer upon suitable persons those benefices belonging to the city and diocese of Toulouse, the presentation to which lay in the gift of the Holy See.[2] As a result of this concession, Louis instituted a stringent examination into the life and qualifications of candidates for benefices, showing far greater care than his predecessors in this respect.[3] John of Orta tells us that rich and poor, men with influential friends and those who lacked any backing, had alike to undergo strict interrogation, and that Louis was as firm in rejecting the noble and wealthy, if they proved unsuitable, as he was in accepting the humble and penniless who passed the test satisfactorily.[4] He also records the discontent which this new rule caused. Nor did Louis confine

[1] *P.C.*, 75. Testimony of James Duèze, Bishop of Fréjus, Witness 10.

[2] "Quod, auctoritate apostolica, potest in civitate et diocesi sua beneficia quorum collatio ad sedem apostolicam devoluta est, personis ydoneis, singula singulis, conferre." M. Faucon and A. Thomas, *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, 1, 2, No. 1842.

[3] *P.C.*, c. xxxix, 17, etc.

[4] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 29, in *A.B.*, IX, 302-303.

himself to dealing with would-be incumbents. On one occasion he turned out an offending cleric from his cure.[1] It seems probable that the Bishop hoped to bring about reformation by gaining an influence over the young clergy in his diocese. As might be expected from the example set by the canons, there appears to have been considerable slackness in Toulouse with regard to the wearing of clerical dress and the tonsure. Louis ordered that even boys should wear large tonsures and, at the one ordination which he held, he boldly cut off the long locks of certain candidates presenting themselves for the major orders, as he stood before the altar.[2]

Meantime, Charles II was growing anxious, as usual, that his son should make the best of his position and manifest to the world the magnificence with which a royal Angevin bishop, and the cousin of the King of France, could maintain himself and his household. It was doubtless due to his promptings that Boniface wrote to inform Louis that he had licence to make expenditure such as befitted a king's son and not a simple bishop.[3] However it goes without saying that Louis paid no heed to such misplaced generosity. On the contrary, he instructed the controller of his revenue (James Duèze) to cut down his own and his household expenses to the minimum, and then, inquiring how much remained, apportioned the superfluous amount to the various charities which did so much to endear his memory to the people of Toulouse.[4] Such were his daily alms to twenty-five paupers,[5] and his support of six or seven poor scholars whom he maintained at the University of Toulouse.[6]

Perhaps the only permanent material work accomplished by Louis during his nominal eight months' episcopate was the restoration of the church of the Blessed Mary *Deaurata* at Toulouse.[7] One of his last acts was to hold his first and only ordination ser-

[1] *Op. cit.*, 303. [2] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 29, in *A.B.*, IX, 303.
[3] *P.C.*, *capitulum generale* xxxvj, 16, and 75, testimony of James Duèze.
[4] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.* [5] *P.C.*, 30, 39, 47, 56.
[6] *P.C.*, 39. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.
[7] *P.C.*, 30. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon. This is the church which is commonly known as Notre Dame de la Daurade. It was built on the site of a ninth-century Benedictine abbey.

vice in the cathedral on Trinity Sunday, 9th June.[1] A few days later, in accordance with an invitation received from his sister and brother-in-law, Blanche and James of Aragon, to visit them at Barcelona, Louis left his diocese, taking with him James Duèze, William of Cornillon, and his faithful friars, Peter and Francis, and set out for Catalonia.[2]

There is no evidence to show that when he left Toulouse Louis had made up his mind to resign the bishopric and never to return. Rather one gets the impression that he was jumping at any opportunity of escape, not from the responsibilities (for he had faced his duties manfully), but from the inevitable pomp, trappings, and routine of episcopal life, and that he regarded his visit to Spain as an opportunity of avoiding these for the time being. It is impossible not to condemn this act of absenteeism. To spend four months in reaching his diocese, to remain there six weeks, and then be away on his travels again was a serious lapse from duty, and above all from Louis' standards of duty. Nor is it easy to reconcile it with his general conduct of exemplary conscientiousness. The truth of the matter, however, is that his one act of worldly astuteness was finding him out. In allowing his reception into the Franciscan Order, which was the real aim of his life, to become dependent on his acceptance of a bishopric in order to please his father, Louis had been trying to serve two ends, and he was learning that he could serve neither. As bishop he considered that it was impossible for him to realise the Franciscan ideal ; and yet as long as he was continually hankering after his habit and his cell, he could not carry out his episcopal duties with complete sincerity : the diocese must suffer. It was, perhaps, the realisation of all this that came to Louis in Catalonia and made him decide to resign Toulouse at all costs, but such a decision was surely arrived at not prior, but subsequent, to his departure for Aragon.

[1] *P.C.* Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon (29), of Fr. Francis le Brun (114), and John of Us (83). The last-named witness was ordained deacon by Louis on this occasion.

[2] It must have been subsequent to 13th June, because we learn that Louis visited the Franciscan convent at Toulouse on that day, and that the friars protracted the chanting of Matins throughout the night. *Chronica xxiv Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, in *A.F.*, III, 435.

VII.

THE DEATH OF LOUIS, AUGUST, 1297.

The object of Louis' journey to Catalonia was two-fold. There was first the general desire of the young Queen of Aragon to see her brother again and of King James to prove the genuineness of the Angevin-Aragonese alliance by welcoming his relative as an honoured guest to scenes where he had previously figured as a hostage. Secondly, there was a more particular reason for the visit: the restoration of peace between James and the Count of Foix,[1] a task eminently after Louis' own heart. Crossing the Pyrenees, Louis entered Spain by way of the county of Pallars in the province of Lerida.[2] He thence proceeded through the city of Lerida to Barcelona, where he was met by the King and Queen of Aragon and a crowd of interested spectators who remembered his sojourn in their city three years previously.

Louis stayed with his sister and brother-in-law at Barcelona for about a month. During that time he was not allowed to remain idle, for the young Bishop's fame within the Franciscan Order was already considerable and his services were in great demand. Thus we hear of his consecrating the Minorite church (dedicated to S. Nicholas) at Barcelona [3] by desire of the bishop of the diocese, Bernard Peregrin, who was present. This ceremony took place on 15th July.[4] He also blessed the Poor Clares of Barcelona.[5]

[1] Count Roger Bernard III. *P.C.*, 33. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca. [2] *P.C.*, 27, 76, 104, and 114.

[3] *P.C.*, 30. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.

[4] Francisco Diago, *Historia de Los Victoriosissimos Antiguos Condes de Barcelona*, Bk. III, c. xvi, 295 (1603). Diago says that the event was recorded on a stone of the church near the door leading to the cloister.

[5] *P.C.*, 30. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.

It was during these weeks in Aragon that Louis seems to have decided to make his *gran rifiuto*. The idea of a friar-bishop had always been abhorrent to him ; it now became so intolerable that he could bear it no longer. Moreover, it is possible that rumours of fresh ambitious schemes entertained for him by his father had reached Louis' ears, and influenced him in the decision to which he now came. Charles II, apparently, was not content with having his son a bishop. He seems to have tried to persuade Boniface VIII to create Louis a cardinal.[1] And if a cardinal, why not eventually Pope ? Be this as it may, Louis appears to have determined to go at once to Rome and to entreat the Pope to accept his resignation of the see of Toulouse.[2] In this he may have been guided by the example of Celestine V. If the Supreme Pontiff could give up the chair of S. Peter, surely he, Louis, could vacate the episcopal chair of Toulouse.

In a frenzy of impatience to accomplish his desire, Louis did not remain long at the Aragonese court but set out for Rome. Following the usual route as far as Montpellier,[3] Louis turned somewhat aside from his direct course, to celebrate the feast of S. Martha (27th July) at Tarascon.[4] Brought up from earliest childhood to hold in peculiar veneration the Provençal cult of SS. Mary Magdalene and Martha, Louis esteemed it an especial honour to be in Tarascon on that day. The body of S. Martha is reputed to rest in the church dedicated to her, and Louis was requested to preach the annual sermon in her honour. The assembly before which Louis pronounced his panegyric was an

[1] Vidal de Villanova, papal legate to James II of Aragon, in a long report which he sent to that King of an audience which he had had with John XXII at Avignon (dated 6th March, 1323), informs the King of Aragon that the Pope is unwilling to accede to his request to create James' son, John, Archbishop of Toledo, a cardinal, because the Pope does not approve of royal cardinals. And the Pope said to Vidal : " El rey [Charles II of Sicily], feu tot son poder, que sent Loys fos feyt cardenal et nuylls temps nou poch obtenir." King Charles had used all his influence to get Louis created a cardinal, but could never obtain his desire. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, Document 378, 588.

[2] The *P.C.* only hints darkly at Louis' resolution. Wadding thinks that he was intending to return to Toulouse by way of Provence. See *Annales Minorum*, 1298, V, viii, 400.

[3] *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 48, in *A.B.*, IX, 318. Louis passed through Perpignan, since Francis le Brun says that he was left sick there. *P.C.*, 115.

[4] *Vita S. Ludovici*, cc. 16 and 48, in *A.B.*, IX, 293 and 318.

unusually large and distinguished one, for it so happened that the Dominican Provincial Chapter was being held in Tarascon at the time.[1]

From Tarascon Louis went on to Aix and thence to S. Maximin, where he stopped to venerate the relics of S. Mary Magdalene and probably made the pilgrimage of the *Sainte Baume*.[2] Having accomplished these pious duties he pushed on to Brignoles, where he found his father, King Charles II, staying with his court during one of his many progresses through Provence.[3] The question of Louis' wish to resign his bishopric appears to have been discussed between father and son. Charles desired to send William of S. Marcel to the Curia for the purpose of assuring the Pope that Louis was perfectly satisfied with his position. Louis, on the other hand, called S. Marcel aside and begged him to procure Boniface's acceptance of his resignation. "I am altogether determined to be quit of a cure of souls. It is enough for me if I am able to give an account of my own soul to God," he said.[4] That account was very shortly to be required.

For Brignoles was the farthest point which Louis was destined to reach on his way to Rome. A few days after his arrival in the town, where his father persuaded him to linger, the young Bishop was taken very ill. His health had probably never been good, but, regardless of his natural delicacy, Louis had for the past five or six years been steadily doing his best to undermine it still further by his excessive vigils, fastings, and mortifications. He was now, moreover, thoroughly overwrought and in a state of unnatural excitement, while to make matters worse, on top of all this, he was pursuing a rapid journey through the intense heat of a Mediterranean summer. It is little wonder that he succumbed beneath the two-fold strain, mental and physical.

Far from well as Louis must have been on his arrival at Brignoles, for the first few days he refused to acknowledge that any-

[1] 28th July. C. Douais, *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1239-1302*, 410 (1894-1895).

[2] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 122.

[3] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 121, quoting the "Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône," shows that Charles II was at Brignoles from 31st July to 3rd September.

[4] *P.C.*, 80. Testimony of Fr. William of S. Marcel.

thing was wrong. On 3rd August he dined with the King,[1] and the following day, being the Feast of S. Dominic, insisted on celebrating Mass as usual in the chapel of the Count's house.[2] At the conclusion of the service [3] Louis felt the oncoming of feverish symptoms, extreme cold and shivering, and was persuaded to send for his physician, who recommended his patient to eat some plums.[4] This remedy would seem to have had the very reverse of the desired effect, and the fever began to increase in violence and intensity. Louis was forced, much against his will one suspects, to own himself defeated and to take to his bed.

From the moment that he found himself really ill the Bishop seems to have felt that his case was hopeless. Even when the physicians spoke confidently of his recovery, Louis refused to entertain any illusions as to his real condition, and began to prepare for death.[5] Surrounded by relations and friends, in a home of his childhood, and with the consciousness that, although he must die with his purpose of renouncing his bishopric unfulfilled, yet he had done his utmost to accomplish it, Louis' end was peace. The trouble of mind and frantic desire to lose no moment in reaching Rome that had characterised his frenzied journey of the last weeks passed quite away and were happily forgotten. Louis' wonted calm returned at the call of death. During the fourteen days for which his illness lasted, although very weak, his mind remained clear and it was evident to the watchers that he was supremely happy. When Charles II asked his son if he were not afraid to die, and added that he himself had a great fear of death, Louis replied that he, on the contrary,

[1] *P.C.*, 49. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone.

[2] *P.C.*, 49 and 76.

[3] Most of the witnesses agree that it was at the conclusion of this Mass, on 4th August, that Louis first began to feel ill. Peter Scarrerii, however, tells us that the Bishop was able to celebrate the solemn Requiem Mass for his brother, Charles Martel of Hungary, in the church of the Franciscan convent at Brignoles, the next day, and that it was then that the fever seized him. The point is of little importance so far as Louis is concerned, but it is of great interest in that it elucidates the exact date of the death of Charles Martel, in 1295, a point which has long baffled historians.

[4] *P.C.*, 41. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca.

[5] *P.C.*, c. lij, 41, 49, etc.

had a great fear of life.[1] This was no affectation, but the truth.

On the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (15th August) Louis made his confession to Friar Peter Scarrerii and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands.[2] A temporary altar had been put up in his room, and a daily Mass had been celebrated there by one or other of his devoted friar companions throughout his illness. Weak as the fever had left him, Louis insisted on leaving his bed at the actual moment of reception, and remained some time in humble adoration.[3] Frequently during his sickness, and especially when in great pain, the young Bishop was heard to call upon God, Our Lady, and the saints for the salvation of his soul. The Passion of Christ was never far from his thoughts. Signing himself with the cross, he said " Title of triumph : Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," and then added, " Have mercy upon me." [4] Again and again he uttered the familiar words, " We adore Thee, O Christ, and we bless Thee, because by Thy holy Cross Thou hast redeemed us." [5] When he felt that the end was approaching he requested that a crucifix might be brought to him, and when William of Cornillon had placed one in his hands, while his pantler, Elzéar de Alamannone, held a candle to aid his failing sight, he kissed the feet of Our Lord with passionate devotion,[6] genuflecting as best he could between the clothes. Louis' love for Our Lady was shown by his repeated cry of *Ave Maria*, a cry which, apparently more often on his lips than any other, attracted the notice of his companions, one of whom asked him why he called upon the Mother of God thus frequently. The dying man replied :

[1] *P.C.*, 42. Testimony of Bermundus de Roca. It is clear from a few words spoken by Louis on his death-bed that the bishopric had been as an intolerable load weighing upon him. " Ego," inquit, " moriar et expedit mihi multum quia onus episcopatus, quod est cervici meae impositum, est mihi quam plurimum onerosum ; et propter nimiam occupationem temporalium orationi et devotioni vacare nequeo, sicut vellem." *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 48, in *A.B.*, IX, 318.

[2] *P.C.*, 105. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

[3] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.* See also c. 1, 28 and 41.

[4] *P.C.*, 115. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun.

[5] *P.C.*, 115. Testimony of Fr. Peter Scarrerii.

[6] *P.C.*, c. liiij., 29, 41, 49, and 70.

"Because I am on the point of death and the Blessed Virgin will save me." [1]

The news of Louis' illness was quickly spread abroad. Three days before his death his beloved friend, Francis le Brun, whom he had left sick at Perpignan, arrived at Brignoles, having risen from his bed and made the long journey with all haste as soon as he heard of his master's serious condition.[2] It is easy to imagine his fears lest he should arrive too late to gladden the eyes of his old pupil, and the longings of Louis to look once more upon the man who had been more to him than any other in the world. The presence of Francis le Brun must have removed the last cloud from Louis' otherwise tranquil horizon. The Pope also seems to have been concerned about the young Bishop, and the very night before the end, the Catalan friar, whom, as a suitable person for the mission, he had dispatched to Brignoles with inquiries from the Curia, was introduced into Louis' presence. Louis welcomed his fellow-Franciscan with all his wonted gentleness and courtesy, and requested him to sit down by the bed and tell him something that would be of help to him in his last moments. The friar complied with Louis' wishes and began a tale about the earthly paradise, only dimly remembered afterwards by the watchers round their master's dying bed.[3]

By the morning of 19th August it became clear to all that Louis was sinking fast. He received Extreme Unction,[4] and having made his peace with God, he expressed a desire, perhaps prompted thereto by his father, to make a will. Technically, Louis had no right to do so. When he received the Franciscan habit and made the vow of renunciation he abandoned all claims to personal property, and consequently to its disposal. But as prince and as bishop he had a few things to bestow, and owing to the anomalous position in which he had placed himself, he was forced to the last to conform to worldly usages. The document is touching in its brevity, simplicity, and affectionate remembrance of friends, especially of Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii, to whom, after one or two special bequests of books, he bequeathed

[1] *P.C.*, 115. Testimony of Fr. Francis le Brun. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *P.C.*, c. liiij, 19, 77, 105 and 115.
[4] *P.C.*, 29. Testimony of Fr. William of Cornillon.

the residue of his library, in return for the many kindnesses shown to him by them for such a long period of years. Further, this will shows that if Louis through force of circumstances had failed to live up to the strictest ideals of the Order, he had, at any rate, reduced his personal belongings in a degree quite unprecedented for a thirteenth-century bishop.[1]

The end came peacefully in the evening of Monday, 19th August, in the presence of his father, friends, and "family." The last virulent onset of fever had left Louis exhausted, and as he lay in a kind of sleep or stupor he passed away without a struggle. At first the watchers thought that he slept, and the only indication of death was the slight movement of the hand which lay in that of his dear friend, Raymond Gauffridi.[2]

Thus at the early age of twenty-three there passed away Louis of Toulouse. To his friends Louis' death came as a cruel blow. That one so good should die so young, be cut off thus prematurely just when life was opening out before him, seemed to them a hard fate indeed. Yet on consideration it may well be that the prince was right when he said that he feared to live, and that death was for him a happier lot. For it is more than probable that Boniface VIII would not have accepted his resignation of the bishopric of Toulouse, and then Louis' life would, indeed, have been to him a misery and a burden. Perhaps the present day will condemn him as one who evaded his responsibilities, first shrinking from that station in the world into which he had been born, and then trying to escape from the burdens of ecclesiastical duties. But it should be remembered, in extenuation of Louis, first, that it is not given to everyone to command, and secondly, that he had never wanted to accept Toulouse.

[1] For the will of S. Louis, see Appendix B.

[2] *P.C.*, 49 and 70. Testimony of Elzéar de Alamannone and Fr. Raymond Gauffridi.

PART II.

THE PROCESS OF CANONISATION IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

I

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CANONISATION UP TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The practice of the Church of rendering formal, or, as it came to be termed, official honour to her holy dead, can be traced back to a very early date in her history. The strong analogy between the pagan custom of hero-worship and the Christian *cultus* of saints has led some writers to draw the perhaps natural but unwarranted conclusion that the Christian rite is merely a heathen relic transferred bodily, and with only the most transparent and superficial changes of name and form, into the new religion. While admitting the close resemblance between the two practices, however, the difference of their origin cannot be too carefully insisted upon. "The *cultus* of the saints is not an outcome of pagan hero-worship, but of reverence for the martyrs."[1] This reverence came in time to include not only those who had died for the faith, but those also, who, by the purity of their lives, had been "confessors" of it to the world.

During the early centuries after Christ the *cultus* remained a

[1] Père H. Delehaye, S.J., *The Legends of the Saints. An Introduction to Hagiography.* (Translated by Mrs. V. M. Crawford, The Westminster Library, 1907). c. VI, II, *Saint-Worship and Hero-worship.*

purely local affair. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that martyrs and confessors were honoured indiscriminately. Some sort of inquiry was held necessary to legitimatise the cult, and this inquiry was instituted by the bishop of the diocese which the holy man or woman had inhabited. After taking cognisance of the matter, he had full authority either to establish or prohibit the cult within a certain restricted area. This episcopal authorisation corresponds very closely to the modern practice of beatification, by which the Pope gives permission for veneration of a holy man or woman in restricted localities and by means of prescribed services only. The difference lies in the fact that the bishop's decree was not merely in the nature of a permission to venerate ; it appears often to have constituted a precept.

It is contended, however, that from the earliest times papal acquiescence was essential to the establishment of a universal cult, or as we should now say, to canonisation as distinct from beatification.[1] But as the most striking feature of early *cultus* of saints is their local character, the question of papal authorisation does not arise for a long time. Gradually, however, as papal supremacy begins to emerge more and more, we find signs of papal intervention in the matter of the cult of martyrs and confessors. Nevertheless, the utmost caution is required in dealing with these early centuries, for we are treading on very insecure ground.

Pope Benedict XIV, in his monumental work on canonisation, entitled *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*, devotes several chapters in his first book to a consideration of the early history of the subject.[2] In his anxiety to trace out a clear-cut line of development, however, he has sometimes failed, not to enumerate his sources, but to appreciate them at their true worth. The authorities for this early period are generally doubtful or else non-contemporary, and it is disquieting to find Benedict not infrequently stating as a fact something which can only be tentatively accepted. According to him[3] the first

[1] See Camillus Beccari, article on *Beatification and Canonization* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II.

[2] See also Père H. Delehaye, *Sanctus*, c. III, *Le Culte*, and c. IV, *Le Contrôle de l'Eglise*, 1.

[3] *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione* . . . Bk. I, c. 7, 52.

instance of papal authority being consulted to give legalisation to a cult occurs in the fifth century, when the *Acta Passionis* of Vigilius, Bishop of Trent (martyred in 406), were sent to Innocent I for this purpose. This assertion, however, rests upon a doubtful source.[1] The same Pope would appear to have intervened to some extent in the case of S. John Chrysostom,[2] and several other cases of papal intervention of a mild kind occur in the centuries immediately following.

It is not, however, until the tenth century that we can begin to speak about the matter with anything like certainty. With the pontificate of John XV (985-995) there comes a decided change. The centralising movement, which tended to reserve to the Pope the most important acts of ecclesiastical power, drew into its clutches the *cultus* of saints, which was beginning to shed its purely local character. The theory which reserved to the Pope alone the right to command that universal honour be paid to a saint was now to be translated into practice. Thus in 993 we get the first authenticated [3] example of a petition to the

[1] This authority is a Life of Vigilius which belonged in the thirteenth century to the convent of S. Maximin at Trèves and was used by Bartholomew of Trent (died 1240) in his *Legendarium Sanctorum*. As there is at least one serious error in the Life, the name of the Pope to whom the *Acta* were sent being wrongly given as Hormisdas (514-522), it is clearly a source upon which we cannot place implicit reliance. Moreover, another suspicious feature is the fact that the author says that the *Acta* were sent to the Pope for approval "as the custom was," but this may be a later scribe's addition. See *Acta Sanctorum*, June, V, 163 *et seq.*, where no date is given for the manuscript.

[2] Although Benedict cites this (*op. cit.*, Bk. I, c. 7, 52) as the second instance of papal intervention, the part played by Innocent I with regard to the memory of S. John Chrysostom is by no means certain. Benedict quotes letters of Innocent to the Emperor Arcadius given by Baronius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici, ad. ann.* 407, but is obliged to admit that many persons regard them as forgeries, although he himself is evidently unwilling to do so. They are quoted first by George, Patriarch of Alexandria, "qui ea forte licentia usus est ad litteras componendas." See *AA.SS.*, September, IV, 678.

[3] Some writers think that Pope Stephen III (768-772), at the request of Pipin the Short, King of the Franks, committed to certain bishops the task of inquiring into the life and miracles of S. Suibert. If the letter were genuine, here would be an earlier instance than the pontificate of John XV of preliminary papal intervention, and, what is more striking still, evidence of the appointment of a definite papal commission such as does not occur again till a century after John XV. Most authorities, however, agree that the letter is a forgery. See Benedict XIV, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, c. 7, 57-58.

Pope for canonisation[1] preceding any other step. This was when the Bishop of Augsburg petitioned John XV and the cardinals assembled at the Lateran Council to place his predecessor, Udalric, in the catalogue of saints. After due consideration, amounting either to a papal commission of inquiry, or, more probably, to a recitation by the petitioning party of a previously prepared account of Udalric's life and miracles, the request was granted.[2]

It is easy to see that an important step had been taken. Hitherto papal action, such as it was, had only come into play at a late stage of proceedings. It was only after preliminary steps had been taken, and the local *cultus* practically established, that the papal consent was asked, and then more as a form of courtesy than anything else. But after 993 it was almost universally realised that the authority for canonisation lay with the Pope, and the swift acceptance of the idea is proved by the recurrence of practically identical cases under Benedict VIII (1012-1024), and Benedict IX (1033-1048). Special mention may be made of the petition (1047) to the anti-pope, Clement II, for the canonisation of Wiborada, a petition which was supported by the Emperor Henry III and his wife, Agnes.[3]

The pontificate of Urban II at the close of the eleventh century shows a yet further development. That of Gregory VII, epoch-making in practically every other sphere of papal authority, did not set its mark on canonisation. In the century which had elapsed since the death of John XV, while the general principle of papal control over the *cultus* of saints had, as has been seen, been gaining ground, the question of procedure had been left indefinite. It seems as if sometimes the Pope may have appointed a commission of inquiry, but more generally, as in the case of Wiborada, canonisation was preceded by the petitioner's recitation of life and miracles. This was the method adopted by Gregory VII when, in 1084, an account of the life and miracles

[1] Canonisation means literally the placing of a name in the canon, or list, of saints.

[2] Fontanini, *Codex Constitutionum quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemni canonizatione sanctorum*, I, 2-3. *AA.SS.*, July, II, 78-80.

[3] *AA.SS.*, May, I, 283. Wiborada's miracles were recited before Clement II.

of Godeleva were forwarded to the Pope for his inspection.[1] But the case of Nicholas of Trani in 1099 created a new precedent. Before Urban would consent to declare Nicholas enrolled in the calendar of saints,[2] he insisted on entrusting the case to the Archbishop of Trani for thorough investigation, and it was only after the Archbishop had reported, and after Nicholas' miracles had been recited before the Pope in council, that Nicholas' canonisation could be confidently expected.[3] It was now to be the Pope's part to set afoot inquiry, not blindly to accept the evidence of others given at their own valuation. Indeed, the abuse of episcopal authority in the matter of local veneration of saints caused Urban II to lay down the following principle : " Non enim Sanctorum quisque debet canonibus admisceri, nisi testes adsint, qui eius Miracula visa suis oculis attestentur et plenarie synodi firmetur assensu " ; that is, " No one shall be admitted to the ranks of the venerated unless witnesses shall be present, who shall attest his miracles which they have seen with their own eyes and unless it (the cult) be confirmed by the assent of a full council." Curiously enough, this important announcement, made to an abbot of Quimperlé who was requesting Urban for the canonisation of his predecessor, Gurlo, has only been preserved in a fragment of a private letter.[4]

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this decision of Urban II insisting on the necessity of inquiry and witnesses, for this has formed the basis of the whole system of

[1] *AA.SS.*, July, II, 435-436. *Vita Altera Auctior ab Anonymo Ghistellensi descripta*, 9.

[2] A reference to the exact meaning of this generally accepted, but rather misleading, phrase will be found on pp. 208-209.

[3] *AA.SS.*, June, I, 249. For Bull, see Fontanini, *op. cit.*, V, 9.

[4] Mabillon, *AA.SS. O.S.B.*, Tom. IX., Saec. VI, pt. 2, 109. Benedict, Abbot of Quimperlé, wrote to Urban asking him to canonise his predecessor, Gurlo (d. 1057). The Pope replied : " Porro quod de beati Gurlöesii celebratione ab auctoritate nostra judicium expetisti ; non eadem potuit facilitate concedi," and then concluded with the above-quoted decision. It should be noted that Benedict XIV in his *De Servorum Dei*, etc., Bk. I, c. 8, 66, gives a very misleading reference, with wrong forms, to this letter. " Benedictus quoque Abbas Rempeflegensis [*sic*] (for Kemperlegiensis) preces eidem Pontifici exhibuit ut inter Sanctos referret Gulgosium [*sic*] (for Gurloesium) suum Antecessorem, et Pontifex respondit ut legitur in ejus Epistola tom. 4 Galliae Christianae." I cannot find any reference to the letter there.

canonisation, mediæval and modern. Calixtus II (1119-1124) and Innocent II (1130-1143) continued to enforce the decree, and when in 1120 the cult of S. Arnulf was legalised, a book of his life and miracles—what would later be termed his Process of Canonisation—was produced before the papal legate and an assembly of archbishops and bishops at the council of Beauvais.[1] Hitherto no Pope had canonised any person without the approbation of a general council. It is significant of the trend of affairs that Eugenius III (1145-1153) abandoned this practice when he canonised the Emperor Henry II, an act of independence in which he was followed by later Popes.

We have now briefly traced three periods of development in the history of canonisation. First comes the idea of papal intervention of a mild kind. That is followed by formal petitions to the Pope, and thirdly we come to papal inquiry and the introduction of witnesses. These three stages are followed by a fourth, and, as far as fundamental principles, at any rate, are concerned, a final stage. From the time of Alexander III (1159-1181) the increase in the number of canonisations was very great, and it was generally recognised that the Pope was the sole source of canonisation. But the system of local veneration, in spite of papal restriction of episcopal authority, was still not established on a satisfactory basis. Alexander proclaimed once and for all (it is possible that he was only re-enacting a decree of one of his predecessors) that no person, however holy he might be *de fama*—by reputation—could be venerated without direct papal authorisation.[2] Thus the Holy See proclaimed its right not only to establish universal cults but local ones also. Henceforth it claimed to control not only canonisation but beatification. In claiming the latter it did not, however, always meet with success.

A striking illustration of the purely local character of early *cultus* and of the necessity for Alexander III's decree is furnished

[1] *Acta Conciliorum*, VI, 2, 1102 (1714 ed.).

[2] *Gregorii XI Decretales*, Titulus XLV, 1391. Decree of Alexander III, "De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum." A monk killed in a drunken brawl had been supposed to work miracles, and had been regarded as a saint. Alexander wrote: "Illum ergo non praesumatis de caetero colere cum etiamsi per eum miracula fierent, non liceret vobis ipsum Sanctum absque auctoritate Romanae Ecclesiae venerari."

by the case of the British and Anglo-Saxon saints. At the Reformation the saints met with hard usage at the hands of the Protestant spirit in England. Only "red-letter" saints were included in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. In the second Prayer-Book the name of S. Mary Magdalene was omitted and four days were added. Even when the new Anglican calendar was revised in 1561 a great many saints were excluded. Certain names long endeared by pious tradition were retained, and, as might be expected, several of these were English. But although the selection was not wholly arbitrary,[1] it cannot but strike us as rather strange. While obscure foreign bishops, such as Hilary and Blasius, were retained for the sake of their convenient dates,[2] or because they were the patron saints of some trade or craft,[3] famous names like Cuthbert and Oswald were swept away. The Anglo-Saxon Church was rich in saints and notably so during the last two centuries of its existence; it would be impossible to guess this from our calendar. Eleven Anglo-Saxon names alone appear, two only, those of Dunstan and Alphege, from the later period. The Celtic Church produced even more holy men, but here the case is different. No purely Welsh or Cornish saint was enrolled in the normal mediæval English calendar, with the notable exception of S. David, whose feast on 1st March is still duly recorded in the Anglican calendar.[4]

The fact of supreme importance, however, in connection with these early English saints is this. Of the one British and eleven Anglo-Saxon saints thus honoured, one only, Edward the Confessor, ever received canonisation by the Pope. It is true that David of Wales is frequently stated to have been canonised by Calixtus II in 1120, but the evidence for this is not contemporary.[5]

[1] "The selection of Holy-days, both red-letter and black-letter, corresponds almost exactly to the Holy-days of nine Lessons mostly printed in red-letters in the Calendar of the famous edition of the Sarum Breviary of 1531." Evan Daniel, *The Prayer-Book*, 71 (23rd edition, 1913).

[2] The Courts of Justice begin to sit on S. Hilary's day, or thereabouts.

[3] It has been suggested to me that Blasius was retained as being the patron-saint of wool-combers.

[4] S. David's day is marked in the earliest extant Welsh calendar, which belongs to the early thirteenth century (British Museum. Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xiv), together with those of the principal Welsh saints.

[5] See Appendix C.

Of the rest, Edward the Martyr officially received that style as early as 1001 ;[1] the observance of his mass-day was ordered by the Witan in 1008.[2] S. Dunstan's feast was ordered to be kept solemnly throughout England at Winchester about 1029.[3] But the others, SS. Alban,[4] Augustine, Chad, Etheldreda, Swithun, Edmund, Alphege, and the Venerable Bede, to whom we glibly give the title without a thought, owe their original place in English calendars to local authorisation. Nor had the Pope anything to do with the other English saints whose names common gratitude ought to restore to us—SS. Hilda, Cuthbert, Æthelwold, and many more.[5]

From this we are naturally led to inquire who was the first British or English saint to be canonised by the Pope. The reputed canonisation of David of Wales in 1120 has already been mentioned, but there is a much earlier claimant in the field, namely S. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York, who died in 721. Five modern accounts of him state that he was officially added to the calendar by Benedict IX in 1037, only forty-four years after the famous precedent established by John XV in the case of Udalric of Augsburg. If this statement could be accepted as a fact it would be of tremendous interest as showing English receptivity of new ideas—the desire that John of Beverley should enjoy a universal, papally established cult—but, unfortunately, there is again no contemporary evidence forthcoming; in fact the statement would appear to be due to a nineteenth-century misconception. As the point is of some interest it will be treated in a separate place,[6] but it may be remarked in passing that the canonisation of an eighth-century saint in 1037 would have been a very extraordinary proceeding. Retrospective canonisations were not very common, and there seems no reason why John should have been singled out in this manner. The idea that he

[1] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, III, 706, 318-322 (1845).

[2] " And the ' witan ' have chosen that S. Edward's mass-day shall be celebrated all over England on the XV Kal. April." Laws of King Æthelred, 1008, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, I, 309 (1840).

[3] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, I, 371. Laws of King Canute.

[4] Alban and Bede were placed in the reformed Anglican calendar in 1662.

[5] The names of several Anglo-Saxon saints, including those of SS. Hilda and Cuthbert, were inserted in the proposed Alternative Calendar (1927).

[6] See Appendix C.

enjoys the distinction of being the only pre-conquest English saint canonised before 1066 must be abandoned.

The first Englishman for whom we have contemporary evidence of papal canonisation, and that, moreover, in the shape of the actual Bull,[1] is Edward the Confessor, who was canonised by Alexander III in 1161. The only other English saint of this period to be thus honoured was Wulfstan of Worcester, who, reckoned a saint immediately on his death in 1095, was not formally placed in the catalogue of saints till the pontificate of Innocent III (1203). Thus it was not till nearly two hundred years after Udalric of Augsburg's case that England procured, in the person of her latest royal saint, a name which had been formally enrolled by the Pope.

The Anglo-Saxon saints were a terrible thorn in the flesh to Archbishop Lanfranc. Although an Italian by birth, his long residence at Avranches and Bec had imbued him with the Norman passion for order and the Norman contempt for "barbarians." He was, therefore, inclined to disparage the saints of the *rudes*, not, as we should imagine, because a witan had made Edward a martyr and a provincial synod established the *cultus* of Dunstan, but because in his eyes their purely English popularity stamped them as of dubious origin. With true Norman love of precision Lanfranc could not rest till he had brought the matter to some issue. Accordingly, when Anselm came over to England in 1078 with the double object of looking after the English possessions of his house of Bec and of visiting Lanfranc, the Archbishop unburdened his mind upon the subject to his guest. Eadmer has left us a very graphic account of the interview. He tells us that in the course of conversation Lanfranc brought up the vexed question of the English saints. "These English"—Eadmer's contemptuous Latin *isti* is very expressive—"these English, among whom we live, have set up for themselves certain persons whom they revere as saints. At times, when I reflect upon the subject of who these people were, according to what the English themselves tell me, I cannot help entertaining serious doubts as to the justice of their claims to sanctity." Lanfranc then pro-

[1] J. Fontanini, *Codex Constitutionum*, XI, 15-16.

ceeded to cite S. Alphege as a typical example of an Anglo-Saxon saint, declaring that his title to martyrdom was weak since he had not died for refusing to deny Christ. What did Anselm think of it? Anselm gave the matter due consideration, and, on the analogy of no less a saint than S. John the Baptist, decided that Alphege was fully worthy of reverence as a martyr. Lanfranc was convinced, and, without more ado, authorised the *cultus* of Alphege, and presumably that of his fellow Anglo-Saxon saints also.[1]

There could hardly be a more illuminating comment on eleventh-century ideas on the subject of the *cultus* of saints than this conversation between the archbishop and the monk. It is not Anselm's defence of Alphege which is so interesting; his decision would have had exactly the same significance for us if it had gone quite the other way. The astonishing fact is that Anselm's opinion, delivered in private colloquy, should have been held sufficient authority by Lanfranc for legitimatising the cult of the Anglo-Saxon saints. So important was the decision held to be that some writers have been misled and state that Alphege was canonised in 1078. But there was no formal act, no word about the Pope's authority. Little wonder, then, that Urban II and Alexander III felt that drastic measures were necessary to put an end to such casual methods. Perhaps it was to punish English presumption that the first Englishman to be canonised by the Pope—Edward the Confessor—was rejected by Innocent II in 1140 and had to wait till 1161 to be enrolled in the calendar of saints by Alexander III.

For the most part, however, as has been mentioned, promoters of canonisations, whether corporate or individual, did not trouble themselves about retrospective cases.[2] They did not see the necessity for saints like Cuthbert, or Patrick, or Dunstan, with firmly established *cultus* which put their claims to sanctity be-

[1] Eadmer, *De Vita et Conversatione Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, XXX, 350-352 (Rolls Series 81).

[2] Edward the Confessor and Margaret of Scotland (died 1093, canonised 1250) are notable royal exceptions to this rule. But Margaret of Scotland, at any rate, was the subject of what is termed "equivalent canonisation." That is to say, on account of her great and established reputation for sanctity, the judicial process and ceremonies were omitted in her case.

yond dispute, qualifying in the new papal examination.[1] It is not improbable, moreover, that some rather doubtful characters like S. Ebba, for instance, would scarcely have passed the test and were best left in obscurity.[2] But it was different when it came to the question of fresh claimants. If Alexander had neither the power nor the inclination to touch a Cuthbert, he could and would prevent the independent establishment of a Thomas of Canterbury in her calendars by the English Church. Thomas was murdered on 29th December, 1170; by 1172 two papal commissioners, the cardinal priests Albert of S. Lawrence in Lucina and Theodwin of S. Vitalis, apostolic legates to England, had been appointed to inquire into, and to report upon, his life and miracles; on 8th March, 1173, he was canonised by Alexander III. This is significant. The extremely short time which separated the two events is not merely to be accounted for by the startling nature of the archbishop's case. It shows that the petitioning party realised that although in Thomas the English Church in general, and Canterbury in particular, held a prize of rare value, without the proper hall-mark he would be useless to them. Thus a precedent was established, and, while in 1173 Thomas was only the second English saint to have received the honour of a formal canonisation, after him no Englishman who had not been placed in the calendar by papal Bull could hope to enjoy the title of saint.[3] The truth of this fact is brought home to us by the cases of Simon de Montfort, John Schorne,[4] Edward

[1] I do not mean to suggest that the practice of retaining in calendar and *cultus* saints of earlier date than the establishment of fixed procedure for canonisation, after that procedure became fixed, was in any way confined to England. We find the same subsequent acceptance of locally and irregularly (according to later notions) conferred sainthood in other countries.

[2] It is interesting to notice the opinion in this matter of the cardinals appointed to report on the miracles of S. Edmund of Abingdon in 1247. They said that if the ancient holy fathers had gone through such a strict process of canonisation, very few of them would have arrived at the point of canonisation. "Quin immo sanctorum patrum merita antiquorum si ita fuissent examinatione seu purgatione decocta, vix eorum quispiam ad canonizationis apicem pervenisset." Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III, 1851 (1717). What chance would there then have been for those of dubious sanctity?

[3] There is one exception to this general rule, Little S. Hugh of Lincoln (1246 ?-1255).

[4] He was rector of the village of North Marston, near Aylesbury, and was revered as a saint after his death (1314). His shrine and a well which he

II, and Thomas of Lancaster. Had these four men lived in the tenth or eleventh centuries, there is little doubt that they would quickly have received the prefix of saint to which their *cultus* must have entitled them. But in the fourteenth century, because all attempts to procure papal canonisation for Edward and Thomas proved abortive, they failed to become saints, unlike their more fortunate rivals, the great S. Hugh of Lincoln, Richard of Chichester, William of York, Edmund of Abingdon, and Gilbert of Sempringham, for all of whom the sanction of Rome for their claims to sanctity was obtained.

Thus by the close of the twelfth century, we find that the "immemorial right" of the Popes to be the source of canonisation is fully established, and that certain rules are to be observed in its procedure. Nevertheless there was much work still to be done. The details of the procedure were left very vague and quite lacking in uniformity. It remained for the legal-minded lawyer Popes of the thirteenth century, Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV, and still more for their bureaucratic successors of the fourteenth, to remedy this state of affairs.

It was the thirteenth century which saw the development of the process of canonisation proper, and of the official written record of proceedings and of the accounts given by witnesses. Fortunately, the records of several of these processes or inquisitions are extant, and they give us a very good idea of the stage reached by procedure at the beginning of the Avignonese Exile. The most notable of them are those dealing with SS. Clare, Dominic, Edmund of Abingdon (fragmentary), Hildegarde, Hugh the Great of Lincoln, John Buoni of Mantua, John Sordi Cacciafronte, Louis IX of France (fragmentary), Margaret of Hungary, and Odo of Novara.[1] Any study of these documents

had blessed became famous, especially for cures of the ague, and many pilgrims frequented Marston. So famous indeed did he become that Richard Beauchamp, Dean of Windsor, obtained a licence from Sixtus IV in 1478 to remove his shrine to Windsor, where the relics were placed in the Lincoln chapel, the windows of which were filled with glass portraying his history. John is also represented on the rood screens of several East Anglian churches, crowned with a nimbus, and there was an image of him at Canterbury. Yet he never obtained the title of saint.

[1] For a list of these processes, given in chronological order, with a reference to their printed source, see Appendix D.

leaves one struck by the curious mixture of order and haphazard which they reveal. Even the more developed of them show an extraordinary amount of latitude allowed to witnesses, and some laxity in the appointment of important officials. As, however, it is impossible to show how far the procedure in these cases was lacking in the characteristics of fourteenth-century practice before these characteristics have been discussed, I will leave what I have to say about them until the following chapter.[1]

With this brief sketch of the previous development of canonisation, we may turn to the fourteenth century, and examine in some detail the processes of the Avignonese Popes in general and, in particular, a typical example of their work (although it was actually put in hand before Clement V moved to Avignon), namely, the Process of Canonisation of S. Louis of Toulouse.

[1] An interesting commentary on thirteenth-century practice with regard to canonisation is contained in the preface to the Processes of S. John Buoni of Mantua, *AA.SS.*, October, IX, 768-771.

II.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.[1] ACCOUNT OF THE PROCESS OF CANONISATION OF S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

(i.)

COMMISSIONERS AND PROCTORS.

Probably in all history few men have been more maligned or have received scantier justice in the past than the Popes of the so-called Babylonish Captivity at Avignon, which lasted from 1309 till 1377. They have been accused of effeteness, inefficiency, grovelling subservience to France, above all of a total incapacity for realising the greatness of the mediæval Papacy, which they allowed, so we are told, to fade away without a murmur.

It is not difficult to see why the Avignonese Popes have met with such hard measure at the hands of historians. They have suffered from the character of the times in which their lot was cast. The fourteenth century, like all transition periods, is in many ways a puzzling and, on the surface at least, a chaotic age. Hence causes have had to be found to explain its enigmas. These causes have not been very far to seek. Two obvious things had happened. In the first place, a pestilence of unparalleled destructiveness had swept all over Europe, and secondly, the mediæval Papacy had fallen with Boniface VIII. Consequently, all the troubles of the fourteenth century which cannot be laid at the door of the Black Death, "the most over-ridden cause in history," have too often been attributed to an equally convenient and almost as well-burdened scapegoat, the captive Papacy.

[1] Comparison with thirteenth-century practice is made *passim*.

The string of calamities for which the fourteenth-century Popes have been held largely responsible is a very long one. The Hundred Years' War figures prominently in the list. The fact that the Popes were residing in such close proximity to French soil is supposed to have roused the national resentment of Englishmen. Then there is the increasing corruption of the Church, which ultimately helped to produce religious dissension and revolt. This has been put down to the vice and luxury of the exiled papal court. Far too much reliance has been placed on Petrarch's diatribes against "avaricious Babylon" that "sink of vice." Or again, the miseries of Italy, which certainly passed through one of the most distracted periods of her distracted history during this century, have frequently been attributed primarily to the absent Curia. Doubtless there is some truth in nearly all the charges which have been levelled against Clement V and his successors, but we cannot be content to leave the matter there. There is a great deal more to be said about the Avignonese Papacy than is contained in these charges, which is not even half the truth.

Of recent years the Avignonese Popes, like many other people, have begun to come into their own and to be estimated at their true worth.[1] It has been pertinently asked whether the fourteenth century did not have as much to do with forming its Papacy as the Papacy the fourteenth century. Historians may regret the consequences of the tragedy of Anagni, but they have not always stopped to consider their inevitability. The mediæval Papacy which fell with Boniface VIII was, in a sense, only a revival; the real mediæval Papacy had passed away with Innocent IV. For nine years a man of strong character and tremendous will succeeded in making himself and, what was more, other people, believe that he had put back the hands of the clock fifty years. No one will deny that Boniface's career was in many ways brilliant and his end dramatic, nor will anyone attempt to pretend that the fourteenth century saw another Boniface. But then it did not want to see one.

It scarcely needs to be stated that conditions in Europe were

[1] See G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (5th ed., 1924). The same historian has also edited Baluze's *Vitae Paparum Avenioniensium* (1916-1927).

rapidly changing during the last half of the thirteenth century. The old idea of a united Christendom acknowledging the Pope and Emperor as its common heads, spiritual and temporal, was giving way before the rise of nationality and consolidated national states. Dante, in spite of his recognition of the existence of the separate *regna*, was as much behind his time (or before, if one likes to put it so) in his conception of imperial unity as was ever his bitter enemy, Boniface, in his dreams of papal supremacy. That was why the precepts of the *De Monarchia* fell on deaf ears, and the agents of the Colonna could salve their consciences by thinking that they had got rid of the best-hated man in Europe.

It was useless, then, for the Avignonese Popes to attempt to follow in the footsteps of Boniface VIII, and being men of perception they realised this and did not attempt it. But neither did they sit tamely down and allow the power of the Papacy to rot and crumble. On the contrary, they followed what, under the circumstances, was the wisest and most far-sighted policy, but which is generally one of the hardest to carry out. They adapted themselves to altered circumstances and did their very best for the Papacy under those circumstances. It would surely have argued little perspicacity if the fourteenth-century Popes had repined over the glories of Gregory VII and Innocent III, and by struggling against the inevitable had lost all chance of salvage from the wreck of 1303.

The Popes had only to look around them to see in almost every country in Europe two processes, consolidation and centralisation, going on side by side, year by year. In England and in the two Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Castile these processes tended to assume a national complexion. In France, although John of Paris in the opening years of the century had made considerable play with the idea of the *regna*, and her kings had done a marvellous work in the direction of centralisation, separatism still loomed very large. Yet here, as in Italy and Germany, the processes were present in a territorial form. The Popes therefore very sensibly determined that if they could no longer overawe Europe by fulminating Bulls which should intimidate her kings and princes, they would bring the Papacy into line with other states and exercise their sway through the

medium of a system of skilful centralisation. It is questionable whether this sway did not gain in power what it lost in tangibility.[1]

A complete change certainly came over the Papacy during these seventy years. Much of its spiritual character departed from it as its financial side became more prominent. On the other hand, Avignon, it has been pointed out, took its place as the capital of Christendom in a way that Rome had never been able to do. Hitherto the life of the Pope had been a wandering one; now this tends to cease, and we find a centralised Curia working like a well-oiled machine. Owing largely to the work of John XXII, an extraordinarily able man who is now receiving the notice which he deserves, the Avignonese Papacy developed into a perfect specimen of an elaborate bureaucracy.[2] Critics may scoff at and declaim against the vast palace begun by Clement VI, but its construction was absolutely essential, not only to house the administrative services of the Curia, but in order to accommodate the literal queues of petitioners who presented themselves at the papal city asking for favours. For never had papal patronage flourished as it flourished now, and kings, who wanted to put in their own bishops, and patrons, who had favourite protégés for livings, all communicated direct with the Pope.

It is the same in every sphere. Before the pontificate of John XXII Papal Registers had been uniform. Under him there begins to be differentiation between *secreta* and *communia*, and with Benedict XII cameral letters—concerning revenue—are introduced as a distinct type. This last innovation is symptomatic of yet a third department which received reorganisation, namely finance. The Avignonese Popes were splendid financiers.[3]

Finally, we turn to the question of canonisation, and here again we find the same influences at work, organisation, systematisation—in a word, the subject has felt the touch of a bureaucracy. The difference between thirteenth- and fourteenth-century processes is the difference, not between chaos and order,

[1] Mollat, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, c. 3 (La centralisation de l'Église).
[2] *Ibid.*, c. 1 (Avignon et la cour pontificale).
[3] *Ibid.*, c. 2 (La fiscalité pontificale).

but between casual and methodical procedure. Although the Avignonese Popes are now far more justly appreciated than they used to be, yet tradition dies hard, and it is satisfactory to be able to add one more chapter to the story that will some day discredit it, we will hope, for ever.

We are fortunate in possessing a contemporary account of fourteenth-century practice in the *Ordo Romanus*[1] of James Gaetani Stefaneschi, Cardinal Deacon of S. George in Velabro. Raised to the cardinalate by Boniface VIII, whose relation he was, Gaetani flourished during the pontificates of Benedict XI, Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, and Clement VI, under the last of whom he died, about the year 1343. His chapter dealing with canonisation, entitled *Modus qui servari consuevit circa canonizationem alicuius sancti*,[2] gives a clear exposition of procedure which would have been hardly possible a hundred years earlier, when practice was still very ill-defined. Nothing, indeed, could afford a stronger corroboration than this account of Gaetani's, of the impression gained by a study of fourteenth-century processes, namely that it was the work of the Avignonese Popes to crystallise procedure.

At the same time it must be borne in mind that the original text of Gaetani's work has undergone considerable alterations and has received many later interpolations in the form in which it is printed by Mabillon. Until comparatively recently the presence of these interpolations caused doubts to be cast on the reality of Gaetani's authorship, but the discovery of a manuscript of the work in the library at Avignon (MS. No. 1706), which contains a statement couched in the first person to the effect that Gaetani was present at one of the ceremonies which he describes, has set all such doubts at rest. From a comparison of this manuscript with the *Ordo Romanus* printed by Mabillon, and from the description of another manuscript given by the bibliographer Fabricius in the eighteenth century, it would appear that Gaetani's work passed through three stages.[3] The first

[1] Printed in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, II (1689).

[2] Chapter CXV. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, II, 418. Chapter CXI, 412, contains a brief account of the actual ceremony of canonisation.

[3] See L. H. Labande, *Cérémonial Romain de Jacques Cajétan*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV, 45-74 (1893).

stage consists chiefly of accounts of ceremonies in which he himself had taken part between 1304 and 1328. The great interest of these accounts lies in the fact that they were often written down while the ceremonies were actually in progress. The Avignon manuscript (which is incomplete) is a copy, dating from the fifteenth century, of this first stage. The second stage represents a redaction made by Gaetani himself, in which he reproduced everything which could be used for drawing up general rules and omitted particular details, more especially the accounts of historical events. It was probably a manuscript of this stage of the work which Fabricius possessed, for he describes it as free from all interpolations posterior to the pontificate of Benedict XII. Finally, at the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth, century, the work passed through yet a third stage, when it was recast by an unknown hand in order to bring it up to date. It was this last stage of the *Ordo Romanus* which was transcribed in the manuscript printed by Mabillon.

Fortunately for those interested in the subject of canonisation, it is possible to compare the general rules laid down in Chapter CXV of the third stage of Gaetani's work with the precious accounts which he gives in the first of what was actually practised in his day. The results of such a comparison are satisfactory, for, since the theory and practice described are in substantial agreement, it is reasonable to infer that the later compiler was not under the necessity, in this instance, of altering Gaetani's own redaction. I shall have occasion to refer to Gaetani's descriptions of fourteenth-century canonisations when dealing with the final proceedings of the cause of S. Louis of Toulouse.

The Process of Canonisation of S. Louis of Toulouse affords a typical example of the work of the Avignonese Popes. It will therefore form the groundwork of this account of fourteenth-century practice, deviations from the model being noticed and illustrated as they occur.[1]

The young Bishop of Toulouse had not lain in his grave at Marseilles for a day before he began to make his appearance to

[1] For a list of the chief fourteenth-century processes, given in chronological order, with a reference to their printed source, see Appendix E.

the faithful and to work miracles for their relief.[1] The number of cures, rescues, even restorations from death itself, effected by his intercession in Provence during the ten years which elapsed between 1297 and 1307, is attested by a study of the second part of his Process of Canonisation. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that Louis' *fama* became very great in the County and excited universal attention and interest there. Indeed, the citizens of Aix went so far as to keep his "feast" every year, as though he were already a saint, and formed a confraternity in his honour which attracted increasing numbers annually.[2] Of all this the opportunist Charles II was not slow to take advantage. The Neapolitan Angevins were, on the whole, a mercenary, self-seeking race, and Charles II was, as has been seen, no exception to the rule. Repulsive as were his efforts, however, to reap advantage from Louis' embracing of the religious life by pushing him into a wealthy bishopric, there is something still more revolting in his attempts to make profit after his son's death out of the career of which he had so heartily expressed his disapproval. Charles had observed the prestige which accrued to the Royal House of France through the possession of a saint in the family in the person of his uncle, King Louis IX, and he was anxious for similar honour. As early as January, 1300, we find the King of Sicily taking steps to procure his son's canonisation from the Pope and urging others to assist him in this laudable undertaking. Not only did he dispatch a certain John of Rocca Guglielma to the Curia,[3] but he was probably behind the letters of the three Provençal archbishops, their suffragans, and the *universitas* of Marseilles, who addressed Boniface VIII on the same subject.[4]

It is clear that those who wished to procure the canonisation of their relations or friends had much need to exercise the virtues both of patience and persistence. Apparently little notice was taken of Charles II's request. This, however, it should in fairness be stated, was partly due to peculiar circumstances. Boni-

[1] *P.C.*, 97. Testimony of Raymond de Bancon. Raymond was cured of the gout by invoking Louis as his body was actually being borne on its bier for burial at Marseilles. [2] *P.C.*, 93.

[3] Riccio, *Saggio di Codice diplomatico, Supplemento*, ii, I, 1, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1299, B, 97, f. 163. [4] *P.C.*, 3.

face VIII, although personally acquainted with Louis and fully convinced of the truth of the reports which had reached him concerning his holiness, wisely considered that, for the sake of Louis' own reputation, it would be better not to act with any great precipitancy. Were he to accede to the importunities of Charles II, it might well be said that the swift institution of his son's cause was due to the latter's royal birth rather than to his merits or claims to sanctity.[1] While he was still holding his hand Boniface died, and his successor, Benedict XI, was Pope for so short a time that he did not do anything in the matter. Nevertheless delay was the rule. James Gaetani tells us that "when the Pope had heard of the *fama* [or reputation of any person for holy life and miracles] and the matter had been announced to him by honest and authorised persons," the affair was gone into, but adds that the requests had to be made "pluries instanter," many times and urgently.[2] It certainly seems as if it took a good deal of trumpeting of the *fama* to get it sufficiently dinned into the Pope's ears for any action to be taken. A comparison of the dates of petitions for commissions with the dates of the commissions themselves proves this to have been the case. Very often a considerable number of years was allowed to elapse between the two events, and it not infrequently happened that the death of a Pope, occurring after the machinery had at last been put in motion, necessitated the whole affair being begun all

[1] *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione sancti Ludovici episcopi et confessoris Ordinis fratrum Minorum.* Cf. *Vita Sancti Ludovici*, in *A.B.*, XI, 338.

[2] Sometimes, of course, the Pope utterly refused to grant a commission of inquiry. Three notable instances in the fourteenth century come from England, namely, those of Robert Winchelsea, Thomas of Lancaster, and Edward II. Great pains were taken by Thomas of Lancaster to secure the canonisation of Winchelsea, and he wrote to the monks of Canterbury asking them to furnish him with particulars of miracles to send to the Pope. Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, actually appointed commissioners to inquire into them, and in 1326 he forwarded their report to John XXII, with a request for Robert's canonisation, although there had been no papal commission. Nothing came of this request, as may be imagined, and no papal commission was appointed. See *Literae Cantuarienses*, III, 398-402 (Rolls Series 85). In the case of Thomas of Lancaster, Edward III made unavailing efforts for his canonisation in 1327 and again in 1330 and 1331. See Rymer, *Fœdera*, II, ii, 695, 782, and 814. With regard to Edward II, there appears to have been a popular desire for his canonisation, but no papal commision was granted.

over again.[1] Indeed, John XXII, in a letter to Thomas of Lancaster concerning the proposed canonisation of Archbishop Winchelsea, written in 1319, expressly states that so weighty a matter as canonisation could not be undertaken with the speed which the Earl seemed to think desirable. "We would have you to know," runs the letter, "that our mother the Roman Church is not wont to do anything hastily, especially when dealing with so great a matter, but rather to weigh such a question by means of the investigation proceeding from a solemn examination." [2]

However, slowness in forwarding what he considered to be his interests was not a characteristic of Charles II. In 1306, after the accession of Clement V, he renewed his efforts and this time pertinacity had its reward. The following year a regular commission was appointed by the Pope to inquire into the life and miracles of Louis of Toulouse. Previous to this, according to Gaetani, a preliminary inquiry and consultation with the cardinals must have taken place, as, indeed, we read that it did.[3] The official record opens with the papal letter of August, 1307.

On 3rd August, 1307, in a letter dated from Poitiers, where he was then residing, Clement V authorised Guy, Bishop of Saintes, and Raymond, Bishop of Lectoure, to inquire into the life and miracles of the late Louis, Bishop of Toulouse.[4] The two bishops were thenceforth known as the papal commissioners, and had to abandon the duties of their respective sees in order to prosecute the case. The office of commissioner had, of course, existed ever since Urban II had made papal inquiry and the examination of witnesses part of the regular procedure of canonisation, but in the fourteenth century its importance in the ecclesiastical world was considerably increased. In the previous century it had been quite usual to entrust commissions of inquiry to archdeacons, abbots, and priors. Thus, the chief commissioner in the case of Dominic (1233) was the Archdeacon of

[1] This happened in the cases of SS. Margaret of Hungary and Louis of France.

[2] *Literae Cantuarienses*, III, Appendix No. 60. Cf. also *P.C.*, 3. Letter of Clement V to papal commissioners. "Nos tamen in huiusmodi negotio apostolicae Sedis consuetam et debitam maturitatem observare volentes. . . ."

[3] *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione sancti Ludovici*, etc.

[4] *P.C.*, 1-3, and *B.F.*, V, No. 90, 39-41.

Bologna; in that of Hildegarde (1233) the "praepositus majoris ecclesiae" at Mainz; in the first solemn inquiry concerning King Louis of France, held at Saint Denis (1278), the Archdeacon of Melun was the chief of the Frenchmen appointed to assist the papal legate in his work; Innocent V's chaplain filled the position of first commissioner in the Inquisition of Margaret of Hungary (1276); while in the case of Odo of Novara (1241) the office devolved upon the Abbot of S. Martin, Turano, in the diocese of Rieti. Sometimes, however, in the thirteenth century, while the subordinate commissioners were of lower ecclesiastical rank, the task of acting as first commissioner was entrusted to a bishop or even to an archbishop. Thus no less a person than Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided over the case of Hugh the Great of Lincoln (1219); Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, took charge of the two French Inquisitions of Edmund of Abingdon (1244 and 1245), while the English inquiries were under the auspices of the Bishops of London and Lincoln (1244) and the Bishop of Chichester (as first commissioner, 1245). The Bishop of Worcester was first commissioner in the case of Richard of Chichester (1256). The case of John Sordi Cacciafronte (1223-1224) was committed to the Bishop of Padua, and, although neither he nor his fellow-commissioners came in person to Cremona to hold the inquiry, they appointed the Bishop of Cremona to act as their deputy. Finally, the second solemn inquiry concerning King Louis of France (1282) was presided over by the Archbishop of Rouen, assisted by two bishops.

Under the Avignonese Popes it became customary, as in the case of Louis of Toulouse, to appoint persons high up in the hierarchy of the Church. Thus the commissioners in the case of Peter of Luxemburg (1390) were three cardinals,[1] bishop, priest, and deacon, although they appointed three bishops as their deputies, and in all the others the chief commissioners were archbishops or bishops.

As regards the number of commissioners, there seems to have

[1] The cardinals were Peter, Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, Amelius, Cardinal Priest of S. Eusebio, and William, Cardinal Deacon of S. Angelo. Their substitutes were John, Bishop of Glandève, Raymond, Bishop of Lectoure, and Gerald, Bishop of Apt. *AA.SS.*, July, I, 527.

been no fixed rule, but there would never be less than two,[1] and three was the most common arrangement. This is true alike of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the 1278 inquiry concerning King Louis of France four commissioners were appointed to help the papal legate: only two were employed in the case of Odo of Novara and the first English commission of Edmund of Abingdon. With these exceptions the number of commissioners in the thirteenth century was three. With regard to fourteenth-century practice, there were two commissioners in the case of Peter Morone (1306),[2] but in all the other processes which I have examined, with the exception of that of Louis of Toulouse, there are three. Deputies were sometimes permitted, as has been noticed in the cases of John Sordi Cacciafronte and Peter of Luxemburg. Occasionally a commissioner absented himself; for instance, the Bishop of Coventry, the second commissioner in Hugh of Lincoln's inquiry, did so. When the third commissioner in the case of Elzéar de Sabran failed to put in an appearance, his colleagues wrote commanding him to come as he was holding up proceedings.

The work of the commissioners was one of great importance, requiring much skill, judgment, and knowledge of men, for it was after an examination of their report that the Pope and cardinals decided for or against canonisation. The commissioners acted throughout as the Pope's representatives,[3] setting up the court of inquiry, examining the witnesses, and seeing that there

[1] The case of S. Clare is peculiar. Innocent IV only appointed one commissioner, the Bishop of Spoleto, but the latter took with him to Assisi the Archdeacon of Spoleto and others.

[2] In this case it may be noted that the two commissioners did not both examine every witness. The process began at Naples on 13th May and was conducted by the Archbishop of Naples alone until 29th May, when he was joined by the second commissioner, the Bishop of Valve-Sulmona. Even then they by no means always acted together, and it is expressly stated whether the witness gave his evidence before the archbishop, or the bishop, or both. The bishop died while the process was still going on, and the archbishop carried it on alone. The question whether the archbishop's action was regular was brought up in 1313 during the examination of the evidence which had been collected during the inquiry.

[3] It should be noticed, however, that in the case of S. Edmund of Abingdon (1244-1245) the chief commissioner in the French inquiries, Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, was a principal promoter of the cause.

was no foul play. By the middle of the thirteenth century (witness the Process of John Buoni of Mantua) papal instructions to the commissioners are becoming much more precise. For instance, as we shall see presently, they were sometimes supplied with a regular formula of questions to be put to each witness deposing on miracles. In these days, before the office of *Advocatus Diaboli* had been instituted, it was the duty of the commissioners in some sort to supply his place. This they did by jumping at any hint of collusion on the part of the witnesses, and testing their veracity by occasionally supposing a "candidate" for saintship to have been actuated by motives less holy than those attributed to him by his admirers in some particular instance. It was the commissioners' business to ensure that no witness had been bribed or intimidated into giving evidence.

It is no exaggeration to say that a fourteenth-century process of canonisation resembled a lawsuit between the Pope and the petitioners, in which, however, the papal party acted as judge as well as defendant. On the one hand, we have the commissioners acting for the Pope; on the other, the proctor or proctors acting for the petitioners.[1] The petitioners in the case of Louis of Toulouse were, besides Charles II, Peter, Archbishop of Arles, William, Archbishop of Embrun, and Rostang, Archbishop of Aix.[2] To their petitions were added those of the archbishops' suffragans and the commune of Marseilles. The King himself kept in the background. Philip III had been more prominent in the case of his father, Louis IX, Stephen IV of Hungary in that of his sister, Margaret. Durand, Bishop of Marseilles (in his own name and in that of the prelates of Provence), and a general council of the city appointed the following persons "procuratores, prosequutores, instructores, et promotores": Raymond Egidii and Raymond Viridis, canons of Marseilles, Godfrey Ricani of Marseilles, knight, Peter Bermundi de Sancto Felicio, *domicellus*, and Hugh de Fonte, the last three being citizens of Marseilles.[3]

The position of proctor is one of great interest, and of an

[1] It is an interesting fact that there was apparently no petitioning party in the case of S. Clare (1253). Innocent IV set the inquiry on foot two months after her funeral, at which he had wished the Office of Virgins to be chanted as though she were already canonised. [2] *P.C.*, 2. [3] *P.C.*, 3-5.

importance almost equal to that of the commissioners. Curiously enough, it is by no means uncommon to find thirteenth-century processes in which there is no mention of a proctor. This is true, for example, of the cases of Hildegarde, John Sordi Cacciafronte, and Odo of Novara. Out of the six Processes of John of Mantua, only the first two have mention of a proctor. That of King Louis of France presents an instance of rather a different type of proctor, to which reference will shortly be made. The absence of this official strikes one as the more extraordinary when one considers the almost indispensable work which he performed. He was, indeed, the counterpart of the papal commissioners, acting for the petitioning party. While the commissioners summoned the court of inquiry, questioned the witnesses, and tested their evidence, it was the proctor's business to produce and marshal the witnesses,[1] to draw up *capitula generalia* for the information of the commissioners, and, if any delay should arise, to urge on the suit to the best of his ability.[2] In the Processes of Louis of France belonging to the years 1278 and 1281-1283 there does not appear to have been any proctor performing this work at Saint Denis. But when the report of the 1278 commission was dispatched to Nicholas III, John of Samois, Provincial of the Friars Minor of France, and later Bishop successively of Rennes and of Lisieux, was detained at the Curia, where he remained for sixteen years. His position there is described by William of Saint-Pathus as " procurateur especial continuelment de la canonizacion du benoiet saint Loys en la cour de Romme," [3] and it was from him that Saint-Pathus obtained the copy of S. Louis' Process of Canonisation upon which he based his Life of the King.

[1] In the first French commission of inquiry of Edmund of Abingdon, it is the commissioners who write to the ecclesiastics of certain provinces, commanding them to cite any persons who know anything of Edmund's miracles to attend and give evidence on a prescribed day. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III, 1902 (1717). In the case of Thomas Aquinas, also, it was the commissioners who sent out letters requiring the presence of witnesses and dispatched their sworn messenger to summon them.

[2] In the case of Ives of Tréguier the proctor was also appointed to act as special messenger to the papal court at Avignon.

[3] *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus*, edited by H. F. Delaborde, 5 (1899).

The proctor was usually appointed by the chief petitioners. In one case, however, we hear of a proctor who was a papal nominee, namely William, Bishop of Viviers, the originator of the canonisation proceedings of Peter of Luxemburg (1390).[1] In two other instances, indeed, namely those of Thomas of Cantelupe (1307)[2] and Ives of Tréguier (1330),[3] the proctor was also an originator of the canonisation proceedings. We find different kinds of persons filling the position, a bishop, an archdeacon, a prior, etc. In a case where the "candidate" was a member of some religious order it was usual to choose the proctor from that order. To take only two examples, one from the thirteenth, the other from the fourteenth century, the proctor in the inquiry relative to Dominic (1233) was a Friar Preacher, as he was also in the Process of Thomas Aquinas (1319). In the case of Louis of Toulouse, however, none of the proctors were Franciscans. An archdeacon, prior, or friar holding the position of proctor would be nominated by the episcopal or conventual chapter concerned in the promotion of the cause.

The proctors in the Process of Louis of Toulouse are only remarkable for their number, of which I can find no other example. There was usually only one proctor, the sole other exception to this rule being in the case of Thomas of Cantelupe, a particularly difficult and complicated process. Even here a single proctor was chosen in the first instance, and two others were only added as occasion arose. Five seems a quite unnecessary number of proctors, and since it was really work for an individual, and no one of the five apparently could, or would, be chosen as leader, we find the Bishop of Marseilles[4] acting as their spokesman in the early stages of proceedings, thus virtually adding a sixth proctor to the already unwieldy quota.

At some date between 3rd August, 1307, and 23rd February, 1308, the Bishops of Saintes and Lectoure, as papal commissioners, went to Marseilles, the centre of Louis' *fama* and the site of his resting-place. Here they set up a court of inquiry on 23rd

[1] *AA.SS.*, July, I, 527.
[2] *AA.SS.*, October, I, 586.
[3] *AA.SS.*, May, IV, 541.
[4] One of the executors of Louis' will. See Appendix B.

February, in the choir of the cathedral-church of S. Mary, but only remained there for three days.[1] On 26th February the court was moved to the chapter-house of the convent of the Friars Preachers at Marseilles,[2] an interesting instance of the cordiality manifested by the Dominicans for this "candidate" of the rival Order, which is fully borne out by the number of Friars Preachers called as witnesses in the Process of Canonisation. This removal of the court from a church to another ecclesiastical building seems to have been quite a usual proceeding, and a chapter-house naturally provided suitable accommodation. Thus in the case of Charles of Blois (1371) the commissioners, after setting up their court in the cathedral at Angers, moved to the chapter-house of the Franciscan convent in the same city.[3] On the other hand, during the inquiry into the sanctity of Elzéar de Sabran, the court seems to have remained throughout in the Franciscan church at Apt,[4] while in that of Thomas of Cantelupe it was set up straight away in the chapter-house of S. Paul's in London.[5] Sometimes the court was not held in a chapter-house or church. That of Ives of Tréguier was held in the house of the treasurer of the church of Tréguier,[6] that of Peter of Luxemburg at first in a hospital at Avignon, and afterwards moved to the grand papal audience chamber of the palace.[7] The palace of the Archbishop of Naples was utilised in the case of Thomas Aquinas.[8] The thirteenth-century processes show similar variations and migrations.[9]

Although the removal of the court of inquiry from a church to a chapter-house, or from one building to another in the same town, would appear to have been a common enough practice, it seems to have been far less usual to set it up in one part of a country or province and then to transfer it to another. Thomas of Cantelupe's Process, however, began in London and was continued at Hereford, while in the case of Peter Morone the com-

[1] *P.C.*, 1.
[2] *P.C.*, 10.
[3] Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, 542 (1707).
[4] *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 560.
[5] *AA.SS.*, October, I, 589.
[6] *AA.SS.*, May, IV, 541.
[7] *AA.SS.*, July, I, 527 and 525.
[8] *AA.SS.*, March, I, 687.
[9] In the case of S. Clare, the sisters were examined in the cloister of San Damiano, and the laity in S. Paul's church at Assisi.

missioners made a regular progress. Instead of the witnesses coming to them they came to the witnesses, and we can trace the route of their itinerary from Naples, on 13th May, where they heard nine witnesses, via Capua, where two gave evidence, and Castel di Sangro, where they heard five, to Sulmona on 29th May, where the court became stationary. This, however, was a most unusual method of procedure.

Two deviations from the usual practice, belonging to the thirteenth century, are worthy of notice. Among the scanty fragments of the Processes of Louis of France which have escaped destruction, there are seven depositions of his brother, Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily and Naples. These depositions, as will be pointed out in another context, are interesting to compare with the evidence obtained from Charles' grandson, Robert of Naples, for the Process of Louis of Toulouse. Here the point to remark about them is that they were delivered, not during the regular inquiry into the life of King Louis, held at Saint Denis, June to August, 1282, but at Naples, in February, 1282. It seems clear, as Delaborde points out,[1] that other commissioners were appointed to receive the testimony of those who could not appear in France. Cardinal Benedict Gaetani, afterwards Pope Boniface VIII, took down Charles' evidence. The main inquiry into the life and miracles of Dominic was held at Bologna, but minor ones took place at Toulouse, for example, and reports on them were sent to the commissioners.

In all probability the first sitting of the court appointed to inquire into the case of Louis of Toulouse took place on 23rd February. On that day, Durand, in his own name and that of all the bishops of Provence, together with the five proctors, formally delivered Clement V's letter of 3rd August, 1307, to the commissioners. The official handing over of the papal letters of commission to the commissioners by the proctor was always the first solemn act in the process of canonisation. In the majority of cases the open letter was accompanied by letters close giving instructions as to how the witnesses are to be received, questioned, etc.,[2] but in those of Louis of Toulouse and Thomas of Cantelupe

[1] *Fragments de l'Enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282*, etc., 4 (1896).

[2] In the case of Thomas Aquinas these were read aloud by the notary.

(1307), there is no definite mention of the more private communication. In the former instance the commissioners merely said that they would examine the witnesses, etc., in accordance with the instructions which they had received from the Pope's commission and letter. The description of the open letter is practically identical in all cases. In that of Louis the proctors are reported to have handed over "quasdam litteras apostolicas bullatas cum vera bulla plumbea filo canapis pendenti, non viciatas, non cancellatas nec in aliqua sui parte corruptas, ut prima facie apparebat." This letter was read aloud to clergy and people, of whom there was a great crowd present, in the vulgar tongue, presumably Provençal, by the fifth proctor, Hugh de Fonte.[1]

After the performance of this ceremony,[2] the same proctor read aloud and presented to the Bishops of Saintes and Lectoure the letters patent of the Bishop of Marseilles and the letters of the *universitas* of Marseilles, appointing the five proctors, dated respectively 23rd February and 22nd February, 1308.[3] The reading of the deeds of procuration, as they are technically termed, does not seem to have been universal, but they are distinctly mentioned as publicly read in the cases of Ives of Tréguier (1330)[4] and Elzéar de Sabran (1351).[5] The ratification by the chief petitioners of the arrangements made concerning the proctors' appointment in the case of Louis of Toulouse was a solemn proceeding. The Archbishop of Embrun and his suffragans ratified on 8th March; the Archbishop of Aix and his suffragans (with the exception of the Bishops of Sisteron and Riez, who were absent from the province, and signed on 18th April) on 22nd February; and the suffragans of the province of Arles, in the absence of the archbishop, on 1st March.[6]

As soon as the papal letter had been read and handed over

[1] *P.C.*, 1.

[2] The only example of the handing over of the papal letters to the commissioners by the proctor that I have found in a thirteenth-century process comes from the first Process of John Buoni of Mantua.

[3] *P.C.*, 3-5. Only Godfrey Ricani and Peter Bermundi are mentioned in the city's letter. From a sentence in another context it sounds as if these two men were acting especially as the representatives of the city of Marseilles.

[4] *AA.SS.*, May, IV, 542.

[5] *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 560. There were four in this instance.

[6] *P.C.*, 5-9.

to the commissioners, the Bishop of Marseilles and the five proctors, whom he still appears to have headed, entreated the bishops, as in duty bound, to proceed at once with the inquisition. They suggested the immediate examination of suitable witnesses, and that trustworthy messengers should be employed between Marseilles and the Curia to furnish the Pope with the results of the proceedings. The commissioners, thereupon, declared themselves ready to begin proceedings on the instant and to carry on the inquiry from day to day as should prove most convenient. In return, the proctors informed the bishops that they had got *capitula generalia* prepared for their use and witnesses to prove the same.[1] The following day, 24th February, was fixed for the beginning of the inquiry and Bernard Salagnac, clerk of Limoges, and public notary by imperial authority, was then ordered by the commissioners, proctors, and the Bishop of Marseilles, to draw up the above negotiations into the form of a public instrument.[2]

The above proceedings have called into notice various subjects without a proper understanding of which any fourteenth-century process would remain unintelligible. By these subjects are meant *capitula generalia*, witnesses, and notaries. As each of these demands a separate notice of some length, it seems best to conclude the narrative of the Process of Canonisation of Louis before embarking upon them, in order that the thread of the story may not be lost.

On 24th February, 1308, a public instrument of negotiations between the bishops and proctors was drawn up by Bernard Salagnac in the presence of the following persons:—

(i) James Duèze, Bishop of Fréjus.
(ii) Raymond Gauffridi (O.M.)
(iii) Raymond de Gignaco (O.M.)[3] } of the convent at Marseilles.
(iv) Berenger Gontardi (O.M.)

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[1] " . . . exhibuerunt et tradiderunt eisdem dominis inquisitoribus seu commissariis predictis quendam caternum in papiro scriptum ad informandum eosdem dominos commissarios de et super vita . . ., offerentes se paratos probare capitula in eodem caterno contenta." *P.C.*, 10. [2] *P.C.*, 9.

[3] In 1309 a Fr. Raymond de Giniaco, O.M., receives from Charles II a safe-conduct to James II of Aragon. He is described as chaplain and confessor to Robert, Duke of Calabria. C. M. Riccio, *Studii Storici*, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1309, A, f. 81. He became Minister-Provincial of Aragon. See *B.F.*, V, 158.

(v) Almeric de Nanis (O.P.) Prior
(vi) Lautandus de Montibus [*sic*] (O.P.) } of the convent at Marseilles.
(vii) Barandus de Anicis (O.P.), Reader
(viii) Raymond Cavallarii, doctor of law, of the diocese of Narbonne.
(ix) Peter Radulphi, canon of Saintes.
(x) Iterius de Brolio, official of Lodève.
(xi) Pontius Vesiani, clerk of the diocese of Béziers, public notary by royal authority.[1]

Two days later, on 26th February, the five proctors appeared before the Bishops of Saintes and Lectoure in the chapter-house of the convent of the Friars Preachers, between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning, and handed to them the *capitula generalia*. After this ceremony the proctors took an oath, on behalf of themselves and the witnesses, that only the truth should be spoken, and this was put into public form by the notary, Bernard Salagnac. On 29th February, William of Cornillon, the first witness, was called and the Process of Canonisation began.[2]

II.

(ii).

CAPITULA GENERALIA.

The subject of *capitula generalia* is one of extreme importance for our period. Their nature is as follows. Directly the papal commissioners had been appointed, and it was definitely known that an inquiry would shortly take place, the petitioning party set to work with all speed to prepare for it. What happened was this. The chief petitioners, probably with the aid of the future proctor, would choose out a small body of men who had been most intimately acquainted with the candidate, and request them to draw up a summary of his life and miracles. With regard to the former, they went through the chief events in his career, divided it into periods, and then subdivided each period into a number of short headings. Each of these headings was styled officially a *capitulum* or *articulus*, and the whole was

[1] *P.C.*, 9-10. [2] *P.C.*, 10-11.

called the *capitula generalia* or *articuli interrogatorii*. The miracles were dealt with more shortly. A list of different kinds of miracles—raisings from the dead, cures of the blind, deaf, lame, etc.—was drawn up, but no particular instances were mentioned in these *capitula miraculorum in genere*.

The purpose of these chapters or articles was two-fold. In the first place, they were intended to supply the commissioners with some preliminary knowledge about the person into whose life they were to inquire, and about whom, in many cases, they knew very little. Secondly, they served a very practical purpose. Garrulity and irrelevance are failings not confined to our own day, and probably the Middle Ages feared an uncontrolled tongue as much as we do. Prior to the fourteenth century, the witnesses in a process of canonisation had been called upon to say what they knew about a man's life and miracles—especially the miracles—and might answer pretty much in the manner and at the length they pleased. Sometimes, it is true, in order to cut down the length of the proceedings a witness might affirm "scit praedicta esse vera," or "credit omnia esse vera" (meaning the information furnished by previous witnesses), and then add a few touches of his own. In the case of S. Louis of France, the depositions on the life and miracles appear to have been kept distinct; in the Processes of John of Mantua a distinction was made between miracles occurring before and after death. In the Inquisition of Odo of Novara there is even an attempt to make rough divisions out of his life—habits, deeds, death, translation, and miracles—and some witnesses are questioned only on one or another of these subjects. S. Clare's Process also shows occasional headings. But generally speaking, a thirteenth-century witness would ramble on regardless of the relevance of his information, confounding the life with the miracles, and utterly oblivious of the rudiments of chronology. As may readily be imagined, this system led to great abuses, wearisome repetition, and terrible waste of time. These abuses it was the chief work of the Avignonese Popes to eradicate. By the employment of *capitula generalia*, by making each *capitulum* the subject of an interrogation to the witnesses, and by keeping strictly to the questions arising from them, the garrulity of the

witnesses was efficiently curbed. They must give answers bearing on the prescribed questions and on the prescribed questions only. It was forbidden to volunteer information unasked; unsolicited testimonies could obtain no hearing. Nevertheless, however good a rule may be, it loses its excellence if adhered to too closely. The Bishops of Saintes and Lectoure, the commissioners in the cause of Louis of Toulouse, showed that they were not hidebound, since they used their discretion with regard to certain witnesses. Six out of the twenty chief witnesses, being conversant with special portions of Louis' life only, or merely able to give an outline account of events, were allowed to make general statements without following the *capitula*. In several other instances, moreover, chapters contained in a section with which the witness was not acquainted were quickly passed over. The petitioners evidently expected that the commissioners would grant some latitude. At the end of their *capitula generalia* they state: "Premissa proponunt, protestantes quod possint plura probare, si contingat ea ad ipsorum memoriam pervenire."[1]

Yet if witnesses must keep to the point they must also expect to undergo cross-examination. William of Cornillon, the first witness called in Louis' cause, had to endure a veritable fusillade of interrogations even after he had finished giving his testimony on the *capitula*.

Another improvement was that henceforth (with the exception of the Process of Peter Morone, 1306), life and miracles were kept strictly separate and formed two distinct parts of a process. No greater advance on thirteenth-century procedure than the employment of *capitula generalia* by the Avignonese Popes can well be conceived.

To turn from the general to the particular, the Process of Canonisation of Louis of Toulouse affords an early example of the use of the *capitula*. In this point, as in all others, his Process is of extraordinary value owing to the short time—ten years—which elapsed between his death and the inception of the commission of inquiry. Obviously the more nearly contemporary was the inquiry, the better the information obtainable and the easier the drawing up of *articuli interrogatorii*. Most of Louis'

[1] *P.C.*, 19.

intimate friends, whose names are mentioned in his will, were still alive, and their services in this direction would be available for the petitioners.

It is interesting to compare Louis' Process in this matter of *capitula generalia* with that of Peter Morone (Celestine V). Although only two years earlier (1306), it shows the *articuli* still in an experimental stage. These were only four in number and in consequence deal, not with particular incidents, but with broad subjects. Thus article 1 is concerned with Peter's life in general and his life as a hermit in particular. Article 2 deals with the condition of his Order, while article 3, owing to the fact that Peter's is the only fourteenth-century process not strictly divided into life and miracles, asks for any information on miracles performed in the candidate's lifetime of which the witness might be cognisant. The last article deals with Peter's *fama*. Unfortunately, the first pages of the manuscript of this Process are wanting, so that all the preliminaries of the case are unknown to us. Thus we have no information as to how these *articuli* were drawn up, but it seems unlikely that they would require the skill of a special committee. Nevertheless, meagre as they are, the commissioners demanded strict adherence to them, and when Witness 8 breaks off his narration of article 2 to describe a miracle, we read that " the said witness related these things according to his own method of deposition, not following the order of the above-mentioned articles." [1]

Where a considerable length of time had elapsed between the death of the candidate and the appointment of the papal commission, the question of *capitula* was, naturally, a much more difficult one. In the case of Thomas Aquinas (1319), where forty-five years had gone by, it does not seem to have been possible for any *capitula* to be drawn up, and the accounts given by witnesses of the life are generally very short, owing probably to the lapse of time since the candidate's death. As regards Thomas of Cantelupe (1307), only twenty-five years had passed, but the proctor, Henry of Schorne, when asked by the commissioners to produce *articuli*, refused the responsibility, and we get the curious, and, so far as I am aware, unique, spectacle of the

[1] F. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana*, 212 (1921).

papal commissioners undertaking the task, at Schorne's urgent request. The proctor declared that he was acting in this matter on the advice of certain learned persons sent to him by the Hereford Chapter, but does not tell us in what this advice consisted. Perhaps as one of the commissioners in this instance, Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, was an Englishman, their task was easier than it would otherwise have been.[1]

It was not only lapse of time, however, which seems to have decided for or against the production of *capitula*. Only seven years passed between the death and Process of Charles of Blois (1371), and yet there are no *articuli*, nor do there seem to have been any in the case of Ives of Tréguier, where twenty-seven years had gone by, although the exasperating arrangement of his Process by the Bollandists, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, leaves this matter in some doubt. With these exceptions, however, *capitula generalia* are the rule in the fourteenth century, and must certainly be accounted a great advance on previous practice. True, it may be urged that they threw too much power into the hands of the petitioning party by allowing them free choice of facts, but, on the other hand, it was equally easy for the petitioners to limit witnesses to safe topics under the old cumbrous system of pouring out information at will. There can be little doubt that, all things considered, canonisation gained by the *capitula* far more than it lost.

Naturally enough, the number of *capitula generalia* and the method of their division into periods varied greatly according to circumstances. Louis' life is divided into five periods and fifty-five *capitula*, as follows. The first period, by far the shortest, consisting of the first *capitulum* only, deals with his early life up to the period of his removal as a hostage to Aragon. The second period, comprising *capitula* 2 to 21 inclusive, gives the history of his detention in Spain. The third period, which consists of *capitula* 22 to 29, deals with the year 1296, after Louis' release and before his acceptance of the Bishopric of Toulouse. The fourth period, which comprises *capitula* 30 to 48, is devoted to Louis' episcopate, while the fifth and final period, *capitula* 49

[1] *AA.SS.*, October, I, 589.

to 54, tells of his illness and death. *Capitulum* 55 deals with his *fama*.

The division of the life of Thomas of Cantelupe was one of four periods and twenty-four *capitula*.[1] To Elzéar de Sabran were devoted the extraordinary number of one hundred and seventy *articuli*,[2] while Peter of Luxemburg can boast of one hundred and five.[3] Bridget of Sweden, like Louis of Toulouse, strikes a medium, fifty-one *capitula* being produced by the petitioners in her case.[4]

II.

(iii).

Witnesses.

We must now leave the subject of *capitula generalia*, which, as has been seen, are practically an innovation of the fourteenth century, and turn to consider the very kindred question of witnesses. Like their examiners, the papal commissioners, the witnesses owed their origin to the decision of Urban II, of which mention has already been made more than once. These functionaries add still further to the analogy between a process of canonisation and a modern lawsuit, although it should be noticed that if the commissioners acted in the double capacity of judge and defendant, the witnesses were naturally on the side of the petitioners.

The production of witnesses was, as we have seen, one of the chief duties of the proctor, and in all cases he was held responsible for them. In some, indeed, he was required to take an oath, partly on their behalf, that truth would be spoken, in addition to that imposed upon the witnesses themselves. Instances of the proctor's oath are provided by the cases of Louis of Toulouse, Thomas of Cantelupe, and Elzéar de Sabran, but a few words

[1] *AA.SS.*, October, I, 589-590. [2] *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 560.
[3] *AA.SS.*, July, I, 563.
[4] Annerstedt, *Script. Rer. Svecic.*, III, 2, 218 (1876).

about that taken in the first of these will suffice. On 26th February, 1308, in the chapter-house of the Dominicans at Marseilles, the proctors, laying their hands upon the Gospels, swore that they were acting with the fear of God before their eyes and that they were producing honourable witnesses worthy of complete trust and credence. This oath was administered in the presence of the commissioners and the following persons :—

James Duèze, Bishop of Fréjus } Witnesses 6 and 10.
Friar Raymond Gauffridi (O.M.) }
Friar Raymond de Gignaco (O.M.), Marseilles.
Guillerinus [*sic*, for Guillermus] Ebrardi, Archdeacon of Aix.
Peter Radulphi, canon of Saintes.
John of Cabbassola, knight, and professor of law.
Richard de Cambateza, knight.
Raymond Cavallerii, doctor of law, of the diocese of Narbonne.
Iterius de Brolio, official of Lodève.
Pontius Vesiani, of the diocese of Béziers, public notary by authority of the King of France.

This oath was then registered by Bernard Salagnac, notary, of Limoges.[1]

The proctor's oath was an extra precaution, and where it was not extorted, a collective as well as an individual oath was generally required from the witnesses. In one instance, that of Ives of Tréguier, a crowd of five hundred persons was summoned in addition, and in the presence of the commissioners swore a solemn oath that Ives was by report a good Catholic, etc., and that miracles were performed by him both before and after death. As if this were not sufficient, a certain abbot of the diocese then came forward, and, at the request of the commissioners and populace, took an oath in the people's name that they had spoken truly.[2] This, however, was a most unusual proceeding and quite contrary to common practice.[3]

An interesting, because peculiar, example of the individual

[1] *P.C.*, 20. [2] *AA.SS.*, May, IV, 542.

[3] The only instances which I have found in any way comparable to it are the cases of Dominic, where the names of three hundred persons were subscribed to the report of the Toulouse inquiry (*Script. Ord. Praed.*, I, 56), and John Sordi Cacciafronte, where the Bishop of Cremona, papal commissioner, together with his Chapter, at the end of the proceedings bore testimony in the presence of a crowd to the main facts of John's life and to his sanctity (*AA.SS.*, March, II, 754).

oath is provided by the deposition of Richard of Dunstable, Prior of the Dominican House at Oxford, in the cause of Edmund of Abingdon. Although duly sworn in—*juratus*—he thinks proper to add: "There, that my testimony may seem to you as trustworthy as possible, lo! with my hand on the Gospels, I swear to you in the Lord, that all the foregoing, and much more that might well be related concerning the time above-mentioned, I have both seen and heard. And this I say, giving a liberal interpretation to each single detail; that is, in the sense which they are intended to bear, and not in a sense which by rigid interpretation they might bear. And to testify to this oath, which in the absence of my superiors (who, however, in the plenitude of their power have appointed me meanwhile to be their universal vicegerent in everything) I have made before Brother J. de Monte Mirabili and certain other brethren, I have appended, in the presence of the said brethren, our common seal, having asked and obtained leave from our Paris convent. Dom. Robert of Asthall, the bearer, and his two attendants, Robert and Walter, are witnesses to these proceedings. To them I commit the power of swearing on their souls to the aforesaid, if required, after the manner in which I have sworn in their presence." [1]

After the completion of these preliminaries, the examination of the witnesses began. The number of persons called to give testimony in a cause of canonisation varied extraordinarily, and accordingly a comparison of figures may be of interest. Here it should be noticed that reference is only made to witnesses as to the life and merits; by the fourteenth century, those describing miracles were, of course, quite different persons and far more numerous.[2] The largest number which I have discovered in the fourteenth century is sixty-two—Thomas of Cantelupe;

[1] "Testimonia de vita S. Edmundi de Abingdon Cantuar. Archiep. per Ric. Dunstaple et alios," quoted by F. de Paravicini, *Life of St. Edmund of Abingdon*, xv-xvi (1898).

[2] There is an exception to this rule in the case of Peter Morone. As already noted, his is the only fourteenth-century process, of those which I have examined, where the life and miracles are not divided into two distinct parts. Hence it follows that the 324 witnesses all give evidence on the life and all on the miracles. In the case of Louis of Toulouse one or two of the witnesses, e.g. John of Us and Raymond de Bancon, record a miracle which had been worked on them through the agency of Louis.

the smallest, eleven—Elzéar de Sabran. Between these extremes comes Louis of Toulouse with twenty chief witnesses and thirteen subordinate ones.

We have already noticed the advances in canonisation made by the Avignonese Popes with regard to the subjects of proctors and *capitula generalia*. We must now notice similar progress where witnesses are concerned. In the thirteenth century the papal commissioners had not always been sufficiently careful about the questions which they put to witnesses tendering information about a candidate's life, although, as I shall attempt to show, when dealing with the subject of miracles they were generally very particular about obtaining full details and plenty of corroboration as soon as an element of the supernatural entered into the story. True, witnesses were duly sworn in, but often only their names (which generally entailed the disclosure of their positions as well) were asked.[1] Now, it becomes obvious at once that this was not only a very slovenly, but a very unwise practice, which might lead to much fraud and evasion. How, for instance, could the commissioners know if a witness had really been conversant with the person into the sanctity of whose life they were inquiring, if they did not ask his age and the source of his intimacy? A man who would hesitate to give these falsely, when questioned on his Gospel oath, might not scruple to repress inconvenient facts where no distinct interrogation was made on the matter. The Avignonese Popes realised this, as is shown by the category of questions put to all but very eminent fourteenth-century witnesses. A witness must answer his name; he might be asked to give his age in cases, perhaps, where his apparent years did not seem to be consistent with a personal knowledge of the holy man or woman; his position in general, occasionally elaborated into a detailed statement of

[1] More particulars (age, *habitat*, etc.) are sometimes furnished in the descriptions of witnesses in the cases of Louis of France and John Buoni of Mantua. It seems clear that the list of witnesses given in Saint-Pathus' Life of Louis is taken from the Process. The testimony of the four witnesses to the sanctity of Edmund of Abingdon, which has survived, is in each case prefaced by a statement of the speaker's present position and the length of time and capacity in which he had served Edmund as a member of his household. In the case of S. Clare, the names of the sisters' fathers and the length of time during which they have been living in the convent are generally given.

birth, wealth, and learning, had to be given; he was often required to state whether he was a relation of the candidate, or had been in his household. If a witness was a bishop he took a special oath—"prout consuetum est episcopum iurare," or "prout decet episcopos iurare."[1] Finally, at the conclusion of a witness's evidence he would be asked the question, couched in several slightly differing forms,[2] whether he had been forced into giving it, had been primed by anyone with what he should say, or had come forward from any unworthy motive.[3] The answer, as may be imagined, is always in the negative. Evidence is produced for the pure love of truth. In the Processes of John of Mantua, which are in many respects the most developed of those belonging to the thirteenth century, and in which the witness's *habitat* and age are sometimes inserted, the question whether he has been "doctus vel rogatus" is satisfactorily answered by saying that he has come to give his evidence by command of the proctor. In some instances the injunction to appear has come through "Michaelem, ministralem communis Mantuae." A few processes, such as that of Peter Morone, add to the other details about a witness the date and place of examination, together with the name of the commissioner or commissioners before whom he appeared.

Some account of the witnesses produced in the case of Louis of Toulouse will not be out of place, both as indicating the kind of persons summoned in these causes, and also because the majority of them have already figured in the story of his life and are, therefore, more than a list of names to us.

After the proctors had informed the commissioners that they had *capitula generalia* ready for their use and were prepared to prove the truth of the assertions contained in them, they named as witnesses capable of doing so the following persons, whom they asked the commissioners to examine. Some of them had in all probability had a hand in the drawing up of the *capitula*:—

[1] *P.C.*, 75, 83, 98, 106.

[2] One form is "Interrogatus si prece, precio, amore, odio, timore alicuius sic testificatur in predictis." *P.C.*, 50.

[3] Thus it is suggested to the Franciscan witnesses in Louis' Process that they may be giving their evidence out of a desire to increase the reputation of their Order.

(i)	Fr. Francis le Brun (O.M.), Bishop of Gaeta .	Witness 20.
(ii)	Fr. Peter Scarrerii (O.M.), Bishop elect of Rapolla .	Witness 19.
(iii)	Master Francis, Louis' physician and Archdeacon of Mende.[1]	
(iv)	Fr. Peter Malirati (O.P.), Bishop of Vence . .	Witness 9.
(v)	James Duèze (afterwards Pope John XXII), Bishop of Fréjus	Witness 10.
(vi)	Fr. Raymond Gauffridi (O.M.), master in theology .	Witness 6.
(vii)	Fr. Fortis (O.M.)	Witness 5.
(viii)	Fr. William of Cornillon (O.M.)	Witness 1.
(ix)	Fr. Raymond de Ficubus (con. O.M.) . . .	Witness 4.
(x)	Bermundus de Roca, *domicellus*, Louis' cup-bearer .	Witness 2.
(xi)	Elzéar de Alamannone, Louis' pantler . . .	Witness 3.[2]

It will be noticed, from the numbers placed against their names, that ten out of eleven of these actually served as witnesses, although they were not called in the order here given. The eleventh name, that of Master Francis, Louis' physician, for some unexplained reason does not occur among those of the witnesses examined by the commissioners. On the other hand, ten persons not named here were subsequently called on for evidence and took their places as Witnesses 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18.

1. The first witness called before the commissioners and questioned on his oath was *Friar William of Cornillon.* Very few particulars are given about him, perhaps because he was a well-known man. The bare facts of his name and position as reader of the Franciscan Convent at Marseilles are stated.[3] In 1309 he became guardian of the Franciscan convent at Arles, and he and Raymond Gauffridi head the list of the representatives of the Spiritual party summoned to a conference with the Conventuals by Clement V, at the instigation of Charles II of Sicily, in the autumn of that year.[4] William of Cornillon is mentioned in the following terms in Louis' will: "Of my books, I leave to the religious, Friar William of Cornillon, my companion and friend, the Bible in one volume which the . . . lord king, my lord and father, gave me and also the *Summa* of Thomas." William was, further, one of the eight witnesses of the will.[5] According to

[1] The statement that he was Archdeacon of Mende is contained in the testimony of William of Cornillon. *P.C.*, 21.

[2] *P.C.*, 10. [3] *P.C.*, 21.

[4] René de Nantes, *Histoire des Spirituels dans l'Ordre de Saint François*, 320. [5] See Appendix B.

his own testimony, he entered Louis' household about July, 1296, while the latter was residing at Castel dell' Ovo.[1] William accompanied Louis to Rome in the following December, and was present both at his secret reception into the Franciscan Order then and at the public declaration two months later.[2] He also went with the young Bishop to Paris,[3] Toulouse,[4] and Catalonia,[5] and was one of the companions of his last fruitless journey towards Rome. William of Cornillon was the deacon at the last Mass celebrated by Louis on the day on which he was taken ill,[6] and remained with him at Brignoles till his death, watching over him with great tenderness.[7] The testimony of William of Cornillon is of little value for events prior to July, 1296, but for the last year of Louis' life it is extraordinarily full and useful.

2. *Bermundus de Roca* [de la Roque ?].

He is described as *domicellus*, belonging to the diocese of Uzés,[8] and was, of course, a layman. From his testimony we are able to gather a certain number of facts about him. Bermundus entered Louis' and Robert's household in Provence some time in 1281, for he tells us that he had been six and a half years with the boys before their removal to Aragon in 1288.[9] When the princes were sent to Spain as hostages, Bermundus accompanied them and remained with them there for four years. At the end of that time he departed for some reason which is not explained.[10] Bermundus, however, came in Charles II's train to Aragon in October, 1288, and witnessed the liberation of his former masters.[11] He seems then to have re-entered Louis' household in the capacity of cup-bearer[12] and remained with him till his death. The testimony of Bermundus de Roca is extremely important for Louis' early life, concerning which we have not very much information, and in a lesser degree for the last two years, 1295-1297, his evidence fully bearing out that of more intimate friends like William of Cornillon, Francis le Brun, and Peter Scarrerii.

3. *Elzéar de Alamannone.*

He is described as belonging to the diocese of Avignon and

[1] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 23. [2] *P.C.*, cc. xxxj and xxxij, 26.
[3] *P.C.*, c. xxxv, 26. [4] *P.C.*, c. xxxix, 27. [5] *P.C.*, c. xl, 27.
[6] *P.C.*, c. xlix, 28. [7] *P.C.*, cc. l-liv, 28-29. [8] *P.C.*, 32.
[9] *P.C.*, c. j, 33. [10] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.* [11] *P.C.*, c. ij, 33.
[12] *P.C.*, 10, and c. xxij, 37.

as being about thirty-seven years of age.[1] This would make him born about 1271, only three years before Louis himself. Elzéar did not belong to Louis' household in Provence, but saw him several times before 1288.[2] Nor did he accompany the three boys to Aragon. His connection with Louis began in 1295, when he accompanied Charles II to Aragon and was present at the princes' liberation.[3] He was received into Louis' household at Perpignan, first of all in the capacity of page,[4] for we hear of his removing the prince's boots and serving him with dishes. Later he became pantler to Louis,[5] accompanying him to Paris,[6] Toulouse,[7] and Brignoles,[8] where he was present at Louis' death-bed, but not to Catalonia. Elzéar, from his subordinate position and from the fact that he only knew Louis after he had begun to shun the society of laymen almost entirely, was never very intimate with his master. Nevertheless, his narrative is useful so far as it goes, and supplies some details not to be found in the testimony of others.

4. *Friar Raymond de Ficubus.*

Many more particulars are supplied about this man, most probably because his humble origin demanded guarantees of good faith. He describes himself as a lay brother of the Franciscan convent at Marseilles, illiterate, and fifty-five years of age. He further adds that he was born at the small fortified town of Roda in the valley of the Ribagozza and the diocese of Lerida, on the confines of Aragon and Catalonia.[9] It seems that Raymond entered the service of Charles II's captive sons immediately on their arrival in Aragon. He was with them at Moncada,[10] Cuirana,[11] and Barcelona,[12] and was probably hired to serve them, in quite a humble capacity, by the governor of Moncada. Raymond remained a member of the boys' household throughout their detention as hostages, and had evidently become so much attached to the person of Louis that he followed him to Naples on their release. Here he continued to hold the position of a

[1] *P.C.*, 42. He is styled Elzean here and Eleazarius on p. 10.
[2] *P.C.*, c. j, 42. [3] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 44. [4] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 45.
[5] *P.C.*, 10. [6] *P.C.*, c. xxxv, 47. [7] *P.C.*, c. xxxix, 48.
[8] *P.C.*, cc. xlix-liiij, 49. [9] *P.C.*, 50. [10] *P.C.*, c. ij, 50-51.
[11] *P.C.*, c. xx, 53. [12] *P.C.*, c. xvij, 53.

menial servant at Castel dell' Ovo and Castel Nuovo.[1] This faithful man still clung to Louis when the latter became Bishop of Toulouse, and was with him at Brignoles at the last, although, being ill himself at the time, he was not actually present at his master's death-bed.[2] After Louis' death Raymond entered the Franciscan convent at Marseilles as a lay-brother, perhaps in order to be near the grave of the master whom he had served so faithfully. The devotion of this simple Catalan to one whom he had been taught to regard as an enemy, which induced him to leave his native country in order to follow that enemy's fortunes, is both striking and touching, and does credit both to master and servant. It is pleasant to know that this devotion did not go unrewarded, and that in 1321, after the translation of Louis' body, King Robert appointed Raymond the first guardian of Louis' tomb.[3] The testimony of Raymond, considering his birth and position, is extraordinarily full and valuable, especially for the period of detention in Aragon.

5. *Friar Fortis.*

This witness describes himself as a man of about sixty years of age, who had been a member of the Franciscan Order for over forty-seven years. He had filled the position of reader and inquisitor of heresy in numerous convents.[4] Friar Fortis had seen something of Louis and his brothers in their childhood in Provence, but on their departure for Aragon he lost sight of them for seven years.[5] When the boys were set free in 1288, Fortis joined Charles II and his sons at Aix, and accompanied them to Naples, holding much converse with Louis on the way.[6] He remained with Louis for a few months, but returned to Provence before Louis had been made a priest.[7] He saw the latter again, however, when Louis passed through Provence on his way to Paris in the spring of 1297,[8] and again at Brignoles in August, 1297. Unfortunately Friar Fortis left Louis on the very day that he was taken ill and thus missed being with him when he died.[9] In this way Friar Fortis' first-hand knowledge of Louis was

[1] *P.C.*, c. xxiij, 54, and c. xxvij, 55. [2] *P.C.*, cc. l, lij, and liv, 58.
[3] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 171, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1344-1345, B, 346, f. 145. [4] *P.C.*, 59. [5] *P.C.*, c. j, 59.
[6] *P.C.*, c. ij, 60. [7] *P.C.*, c. xxiij, 61. [8] *P.C.*, c. xxxiij, 62.
[9] *P.C.*, c. xlix, 63-64.

scanty, but his testimony to the young Bishop's learning is very interesting.

6. *Friar Raymond Gauffridi.*

He was far too well-known a man for it to be necessary for the commissioners to ask him any searching personal questions. Raymond Gauffridi had been Minister-General of the Franciscan Order from 1289 to 1295, but owing to his championship of the Zealot party was deposed by Boniface VIII in the latter year. He died about 1310. His connection with Louis began in the latter's childish days in Provence, when the Franciscan already marked the boy as one destined for no ordinary career.[1] They did not meet again till Louis was a youth of twenty, on the occasion of the Aragonese Provincial Chapter of the Order being held at Barcelona. Some conversation then passed between the Minister-General and the would-be friar.[2] The friends met again in Rome at the close of the following year,[3] and again in Provence in 1297, both on Louis' journey to Paris[4] and on his abortive journey to Rome. Raymond stayed with Louis throughout his last illness, and it was to his hand that the Bishop was clinging when he passed away.[5] Louis appointed him one of the executors of his will.[6] Raymond Gauffridi was, with the exception of James Duèze, Bishop of Fréjus, the most distinguished witness summoned before the commissioners, although the fact that he never lived for any length of time with Louis detracts from the value of his evidence.

7. *Gantelmus de Veyruna* [? Gantelm de Veyron].

He is described as a nobleman of the diocese of Arles, over fifty years of age.[7] Gantelmus entered Louis' household in 1281 and stayed with him for two years. He re-entered his service six months before the princes were taken to Aragon, whither he accompanied them, but only remained there till the following Easter.[8] Gantelmus saw Louis for a few days at Castel dell' Ovo after his return to Naples,[9] and again for a short time at Rome.[10] His testimony is of no great value.

[1] *P.C.*, c. i, 65. [2] *P.C.*, c. i, 66. [3] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 66.
[4] *P.C.*, cc. xxxix and xliij, 69. [5] *P.C.*, c. liiij, 70.
[6] See Appendix B. [7] *P.C.*, 71. [8] *P.C.*, c. j, 71.
[9] *P.C.*, 72. [10] *P.C.*, 72.

8. *Hugo Porceleti.*

He is described as a nobleman of Arles, about thirty years of age,[1] which puts his birth at 1278, four years after that of Louis. Hugo was one of the Provençal hostages of noble birth who accompanied Raymond Berenger of Anjou to Aragon in March, 1289. The child, who was only eleven years old, was allowed to go to the castle of Moncada, where his young masters then were lodged, in the capacity of page. He stayed with them there seven months, but it is not clear whether he had any connection with Louis after this period. His testimony, which is very short, is confined to anecdotes of Louis' detention in Aragon.[2]

9. *Friar Peter Malirati, Bishop of Vence.*

He was a Dominican whose episcopate of Vence lasted from about 1298 to 1325. In 1304 he married Louis' fourth sister, Mary, to Sancho, heir of King James of Majorca.[3] His acquaintance with Louis was very slight, being confined to a sight of him on the occasion of the marriage of James II of Aragon and Blanche of Anjou at Figueras in November, 1288. The Bishop heard Louis' marriage sermon and subsequently watched him engaged in disputation.[4]

10. *James Duèze, Bishop of Fréjus.*

He was unquestionably the most distinguished of any of the witnesses. Consecrated Bishop of Fréjus about 1300, largely through the influence of Charles II, James Duèze became Pope as John XXII in 1316. His connection with Louis did not begin till the last year of the latter's life, namely on his arrival at Toulouse in the spring of 1297. Duèze was then teaching canon law at the University, and proved a good friend and adviser to the young and inexperienced Bishop, to whose household he was promptly admitted.[5] Duèze accompanied Louis to Catalonia,[6] and was also present at his death-bed at Brignoles.[7] It was he

[1] *P.C.*, 73.

[2] *P.C.*, c. ij, 73-74. He was probably the son of "Dominus Raymundus Porcelleti, Dominus Senacii". See Papon, *Histoire Générale de Provence*, III, Document, xxix.

[3] *Gallia Christiana*, III, 1221, and Appendix, 196 (ed. Piolin).

[4] *P.C.*, 74. [5] *P.C.*, c. xxxiij, 75. [6] *P.C.*, c. xl, 76.

[7] *P.C.*, cc. xlix-liv, 76-77.

who, as John XXII, procured the canonisation of his friend in 1317.

11. *William de Sabran, Abbot of S. Victor, Marseilles.*

It was unnecessary for so well-known a person as the head of the famous Benedictine abbey of S. Victor to give any particulars about himself. He belonged to the ancient and noble family of Sabran, in Provence, and was uncle of S. Elzéar de Sabran. He became abbot about 1294.[1] He had met Louis for the first time at the marriage of James of Aragon and Blanche of Anjou,[2] and then again in Provence on Louis' journey to Paris in 1297, when the abbot accompanied Louis from Draguignan to Tarascon.[3] As these were the only two occasions upon which they met, this witness's evidence is necessarily rather meagre. Louis appointed him one of the executors of his will.[4]

12. *Friar William of S. Marcel.*

He is described as a Franciscan friar about sixty years of age,[5] and was a person of some importance. According to his own testimony he had seen Louis as a child at Sisteron and Aix.[6] In 1290 Nicholas IV made him inquisitor of the Comtat Venaissin, and he was still occupying the position when sent by Clement V to Sicily, in 1309, to carry out the process against the Templars. In 1303 he had been for a short time inquisitor in Provence. In 1311 he was penitentiary to the Pope and councillor, chaplain, and *familiaris* of King Robert of Naples.[7] In 1317 he was made Bishop of Nice and died as such in 1322.[8] It was to him that Louis turned for help in the matter of the resignation of the bishopric of Toulouse, and he consulted him on the subject at Brignoles in 1297.[9] William of S. Marcel's evidence in all that relates to this topic is of the utmost value.

13. *John of Us.*

He is described as Archdeacon of Beaugency in the diocese of Orleans.[10] John had taught Louis as a very little child, but

[1] *Gallia Christiana*, I, 692.
[2] *P.C.*, c. xxij, 78.
[3] *P.C.*, *loc. cit.*
[4] See Appendix B.
[5] *P.C.*, 80.
[6] *P.C.*, c. j, 80.
[7] Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo II*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 226.
[8] Hauréau, *Guillaume de S. Marcel*, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXII, 282-285 (1898).
[9] *P.C.*, c. xliiij, 80.
[10] *P.C.*, 82.

was not included among the members of his household who accompanied him to Aragon.[1] On Louis' liberation, however, John was re-admitted at Aix and went with his master to Naples. Here he remained some time, but apparently hankered after Provence, whither he returned before Louis' acceptance of the bishopric of Toulouse.[2] The next year, on the road to Paris, Louis encountered his old tutor at S. Maximin, and John once more joined his household for a few months.[3] He was ordained deacon by Louis at Toulouse, at the Whitsuntide ordination of 1297.[4] He did not accompany Louis on his journey to Catalonia in June, 1297.[5] He never saw his master again.

14. *Friar Peter Cocardi, Bishop of Troia.*

He was a Franciscan, whose episcopate of Troia lasted from 1302 till 1309.[6] After Louis had taken the resolve to enter the Minorite Order he liked to surround himself with Franciscan friars and to lead the Franciscan life as far as was possible. While he was living at Castel dell' Ovo and Castel Nuovo, he had as companions his two old tutors, Francis le Brun and Peter Scarrerii, and in addition William of Cornillon and this Friar Peter.[7] Peter went with Louis to Rome in December, 1296,[8] and again in the following February,[9] and also made the journey to Paris.[10] Peter filled the post of *eleemosynarius* to Louis after he became a bishop,[11] but owing to illness he did not accompany him to Catalonia, nor was he with him when he died.[12] Peter's most important evidence relates to Louis' quiet year at Naples (1296).

15. *Durantus* [*Durand ?*] *Curaterii.*

This witness describes himself as a citizen of Aix, literate, and of a good understanding, of the age of fifty.[13] Durand had seen Louis and his brothers in Provence as children,[14] and he was one of the burghers' sons who accompanied Raymond Berenger to Catalonia as hostages, in March, 1289.[15] He then caught a glimpse of Louis and Robert, but was very speedily spirited off

[1] *P.C., loc. cit.* [2] *P.C., loc. cit.* [3] *P.C., loc. cit.*
[4] *P.C.*, 83. [5] *P.C.*, 83.
[6] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, I, 1346; *B.F.*, IV, 560, and V, Appendix II, 615
[7] *P.C.*, c. xxvij, 84. [8] *P.C.*, c. xxxj, 85.
[9] *P.C., loc. cit.* [10] *P.C.*, c. xxxv, 85.
[11] *P.C.*, c. xxxiiij, 85. [12] *P.C., loc. cit.*
[13] *P.C.*, 87. [14] *P.C.*, c. j, 87. [15] *P.C.*, c. ij, 88.

to Lerida, where he remained with the rest of the Provençal burgher hostages for six and a half weary years, without a sight of the princes.[1] Durand's long captivity was rewarded by the post of steward of Louis' household on the return to Naples.[2] He followed him to Toulouse, probably acting in the same capacity,[3] and although he did not go to Catalonia, Durand joined his master again at Brignoles and was with him when he died.[4] Durand's account of Louis' last two years is full, and supplies much interesting information.

16. *Lambert.*

He is described as a layman of Paris, forty years old.[5] Lambert was evidently a member of one of the French families who had come in the train of Charles I to Naples, for he saw Louis there as a child of three, in 1277.[6] Lambert went with Louis and Robert to Provence two years later and remained with them there till their enforced departure to Catalonia in 1288.[7] Like another old servant, John of Us, Lambert re-entered Louis' household at Aix, in 1295, and remained with him for some time in Naples at Castel dell' Ovo and Castel Nuovo.[8] But again, like John of Us, his heart was in Provence, and it is probable that they made their journey back to the County together.[9] Lambert took advantage of Louis' presence in Provence, in the summer of 1297, to go to him at Brignoles and beg some substantial recognition of his long and faithful service. On receiving a promise of this, Lambert left his master and was destined never to see him again.[10] His account of Louis' early years is an invaluable record.

17. *Friar Adam.*

He is described as a master of theology belonging to the Franciscan Order.[11] Adam is the only vicarious witness[12] summoned in Louis' case, but his testimony is none the less interesting

[1] *P.C.*, c. ij, 88. [2] *P.C.*, c. xxviij, 89. [3] *P.C.*, c. xxxv, 90.
[4] *P.C.*, c. xlix-liv, 91-92. [5] *P.C.*, 93. [6] *P.C.*, 93
[7] *P.C.*, 93. [8] *P.C.*, 93 and 94. [9] *P.C.*, 94.
[10] *P.C.*, 94. [11] *P.C.*, 94.

[12] There is an instance of a vicarious witness of a slightly different kind in the process of Elzéar de Sabran (1351). The second witness summoned was dead by the time that the case came on, and her testimony was given to the commissioners by her acquaintances. *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 561.

for that. The person who naturally possessed the most intimate knowledge of Louis' youth was his brother, Robert, Duke of Calabria, who had shared his early education in Provence and his later captivity in Aragon. Raymond Berenger had unfortunately died in 1305.[1] Raymond's testimony would have been of great interest, as Louis appears to have been particularly fond of him. It was, therefore, of great importance to the petitioners to obtain evidence from the Duke, but this was no easy matter to accomplish. Robert was the chief man in his father's kingdom, and his hands were full of civil and military affairs, so that a journey to Marseilles was out of the question. But in January, 1308, it was cleverly arranged that this Friar Adam, and his *socius*, Gilbert, should have something very like a modern press interview with the Duke at Castel Nuovo, in Naples. The two friars dined with him, and after a little general conversation, the talk was diverted to the subject of Louis.[2] Adam's notes of Robert's reminiscences of his Catalan days form the substance of his testimony, and thus, although not able actually to be present as a witness at Marseilles, the Duke of Calabria, through Friar Adam, gave information of the greatest interest, both on account of the source from which it comes and also by reason of the intimate and personal touches which it supplies.[3]

18. *Raymond de Bancon.*

He describes himself as a knight, lord of Puy Ricardi (near Aix), aged forty-five.[4] His name frequently occurs in the Angevin Registers as an important Provençal magnate. Raymond had been about Louis' person when the latter was a child in Provence, and had had excellent opportunities of observing both his character and his education.[5] He had escorted Mary of Hungary and her sons as far as Arles on the lads' journey to Aragon in 1288, but was not among the number of Provençal hostages demanded

[1] G. de Blasiis, *Le Case dei Principi Angioini*, in *A.S.P.N.*, XI, 477, and Papon, *op. cit.*, III, Document xlvij. [2] *P.C.*, 94-95.

[3] An interesting parallel is afforded between the vicarious evidence of Robert in the Process of his brother, S. Louis the Bishop, and that given directly by their grandfather, Charles I, in the Inquisition of *his* brother, S. Louis the King. In both instances the more worldly and successful younger brother testifies to the sanctity of the elder, and it is made easy for him to give his testimony. [4] *P.C.*, 96. [5] *P.C.*, 96.

by James II.[1] Raymond afterwards became *vigerius* (vicar) of Marseilles, and was present at Louis' funeral. The day previously he and the Seneschal of Provence were vouchsafed a vision of Louis. His evidence also presents some interesting side-lights on Louis' childhood.

19. *Friar Peter Scarrerii.*

He is described as a Franciscan and Bishop of Rapolla [2] (in Southern Italy), to which see he had been appointed the month before the opening of Louis' case. He remained bishop till his death in 1316,[3] and was a favourite of Robert, Duke of Calabria. He was possibly a Catalan.[4] Peter's name frequently occurs in the Angevin Registers as Robert's councillor and confessor.[5] He and Francis le Brun were Louis' most intimate and devoted friends and find mention in his will as follows: "All my other books I leave to Friars Peter Scarrerii and Francis le Brun, my companions and friends, to be divided equally among them, in remembrance of the many services which I consider that I have received from them for many years past." [6] Peter was with Louis from 1290 to 1297, first as tutor and later as companion and confessor. His opportunities of knowing Louis were almost unique, and his evidence is extremely full and of the greatest possible value.

20. *Friar Francis le Brun.*

He is described as a Franciscan and Bishop of Gaeta.[7] He was appointed to this see in 1306 and died in 1320.[8] Like his friend, Peter Scarrerii, Francis was high in the favour and confidence of Louis' brother, Robert, both as Duke and as King.[9] He and Peter Scarrerii were witnesses of Louis' will, in which, as has been already stated, they find grateful mention. Francis,

[1] *P.C.*, 96.

[2] *P.C.*, 98. In the preliminary list of witnesses he is described as "electus Repollanus," 10.

[3] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, VII, 880; *B.F.*, V, 102, and Appendix II, 615.

[4] See above, p. 84, n. 1.

[5] Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo II*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 212, 225, 226, 261. Also Riccio, *Studii Storici*, etc., 18.

[6] See Appendix B.

[7] *P.C.*, 106.

[8] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, I, 541; *B.F.*, V, 53, and Appendix II, 615.

[9] Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo II*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 225, 248, 252.

who was a native of Apt in Provence, was with Louis from 1286 to 1297 continuously, with the exception of a few short weeks in 1288, at the beginning of the princes' period of detention in Aragon.[1] Francis came to Louis as tutor and confessor; he stayed on with him as a most dear companion. Francis' evidence is of even greater value than that of Peter Scarrerii, for his knowledge of the secret first tonsuring and admission to the four minor orders in 1294 was shared by no other witness.

Here ends the list of the twenty chief witnesses. It is difficult to trace any underlying principle in the minds of the proctors with regard to the order in which they are summoned. The only point that can be noted is the reservation of the two most important witnesses (who head the preliminary list),[2] Friars Peter Scarrerii and Francis le Brun, to the end. A tabulation of these witnesses may not be uninteresting:—

Friars	9	[8 Franciscans (3 also Bishops); 1 Dominican (also Bishop).]
Bishops	5	
Monk	1	
Conversus [Franciscan]	1	
Secular priest	1	
Laymen	6	

In addition to the twenty chief witnesses, there were thirteen subordinate ones. These did not answer to the fifty-five *articuli interrogatorii*, but merely made a general statement as to Louis' holiness, supplemented by any special piece of evidence that they might happen to possess. Six of the thirteen had never seen Louis. Their names in order of appearing are as follows:[3]

1. Friar Almeric de Nanis, Prior of the Dominican convent at Marseilles.
2. Friar Raymond Queyrelli (O.P., Marseilles).
3. Friar Lhautaudus de Montilis [*sic*] (O.P., Marseilles).
4. Friar Barandus de Anicis (O.P.), Reader of the convent at Marseilles.
5. William Arnaldi, Prior of Saint Victor of Marseilles.
6. Francis of Sisteron, Sacristan of S. Victor of Marseilles.

[1] *P.C.*, c. ij, 107. [2] *P.C.*, 10. [3] *P.C.*, 116-121.

7. Peter de Ripa Alta, monk of S. Victor of Marseilles.
8. Raymbandus [*sic*] Langerii, *pictanciarius*[1] of S. Victor of Marseilles.
9. Master Raymond de Montiliis, Precentor of Marseilles.
10. Master John Blanqui, Archdeacon of Marseilles.
11. James Martini, citizen of Marseilles.
12. Alfonso Atulphi, citizen of Marseilles.
13. James Abbini, citizen of Marseilles.

It should be noticed that all these subordinate witnesses came from Marseilles. Here also a word may be said about the number of Dominicans who came forward as witnesses in favour of Louis. It is such a common gibe against the Minorites and Preachers that they were always at each others' throats, a gibe, alas, too often well deserved, that it is pleasant to be able to record relations between them of another kind. The conduct of the Dominicans throughout the case was most generous. As we have already seen, the convent at Marseilles lent its chapter-house for the sittings of the court of inquiry, while in addition to Bishop Peter of Vence, a chief witness, four of the subordinates were Dominicans, namely, the prior, the reader, and two ordinary friars of the same friendly convent. There is not a hint of jealousy on the part of the Preachers that another Franciscan was in a fair way to be included in the catalogue of saints. On the contrary, they did all that they could to forward his cause, and it would be pleasant to think that the Franciscans rewarded their generosity by similar zeal on behalf of the next Dominican case that presented itself.[2]

Before quitting the subject of witnesses, attention must be called to the manner of their summons. The general rule, where *articuli interrogatorii* were employed, was for each witness to be called up separately, answering in turn to every one of the *capitula generalia*. Those of which he had no knowledge were quickly passed over, and the statement *dixit se nihil scire* was placed against them.

[1] The *pictanciarius*, or *pitantiarius*, was the monastic official deputed to dole out their rations to the monks.

[2] It does not appear that any Franciscans came forward as witnesses during the next Dominican case which I have examined, that of Thomas Aquinas (1319).

II.

(iv).

Notaries.

It has been necessary to deal with the subject of witnesses at some length. That of notaries can be passed over quite quickly. By the thirteenth century the process of canonisation had become so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the lawsuit that it was held essential to endow it with all legal forms. In the Middle Ages two methods of authenticating documents prevailed, namely, seals and notaries.[1] England and France, as might be expected from the fact of their common civilisation, employed the same method, the seal, which was used almost exclusively up to the end of the thirteenth century. Notaries were not of native origin in the North. But in the South, on the other hand—Languedoc, Italy, and Spain to a lesser degree—notaries flourished exceedingly. Here it was seals which were exotic, although they were employed as useful articles, more particularly for public acts.

The notary was a clerk entrusted with the responsible duty of reducing documents to public form—*in formam publicam*. He did not seal the documents so reduced, but put his peculiar *signum* or trade-mark upon them. Notaries constituted an extremely important class in the South, becoming, as time went on, a close corporation formed into their own guilds and with laws of their own contriving. For not only were there the very grand notaries, admitted by the Pope and Emperor, but it was usual for each town and province to employ notaries who generally owed their position to appointment by the lord.

In the sphere of canonisation the notary played a leading part. It was he who drew up the process, recording proceedings, witnessing agreements between commissioners and proctors, taking down evidence, and giving the stamp of authentication to the whole document by his *signum*. In the case of Louis

[1] See A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (1894), *passim*, and especially Bk. VI, c. 1, *Les Notaires publics*.

of Toulouse, the notary employed was Bernard Salagnac, clerk of Limoges, public notary by imperial authority, but there was another present at proceedings, namely Pontius Vesiani, clerk of the diocese of Béziers, public notary by royal authority. Indeed, it was usual to employ more than one notary. In the case of Thomas of Cantelupe three were employed, but this may have been due to the fact that one of them at least acted also as an interpreter of English to the commissioners.[1]

The Process of Louis of Toulouse concludes as follows :—

Finis attestacionum et dictorum testium productorum
super miraculis factis meritis beati Ludovici quondam
[episcopi Tholosani
et in domo fratrum Minorum de Massilia sepulti.

Et ego Bernardus Salagnac clericus Lemovicensis, publicus auctoritate imperiali notarius, examinacioni predictorum testium productorum super vita, moribus, meritis, et miraculis dicti domini Ludovici presens interfui ; et eorum deposiciones, que continentur a septimo folio usque ad tale signum) — † — (in lij folio, et a quinquagesimo secundo, ubi incipiunt testium productorum super miraculis prefati domini Ludovici usque ad tale signum | — Θ — | supra in presenti pagina scriptum, propria manu scripsi et de mandato dictorum dominorum Inquisitorum seu Commissariorum in hanc publicam formam redegi signoque meo solito consignavi rogatus.

Et sic est finis huius operis,
pro quo Deus gloriosus sit benedictus in secula seculorum.
Amen.

II.

(v).

Miracles.

It has already been mentioned in passing that fourteenth-century practice demanded the rigid separation of the life and miracles

[1] *AA.SS.*, October, I, 596.

into two distinct parts. This two-fold division is found in all processes conducted under the Avignonese Popes, with the exception of those of Peter Morone and Elzéar de Sabran. In the latter a third part, *De Fama*—concerning the saint's general reputation—is, for some reason, introduced.[1] This careful separation of the life from the miracles is a great advance on thirteenth-century practice, where it had been far from uniformly observed. From every point of view it was good. In the first place, it was a great aid to clearness and accurate chronology. Secondly, it prevented the confusion of ordinary events with supernatural happenings. Lastly, it had a very practical advantage which must have appealed greatly to the mediæval witness himself who, doubtless, appreciated the honour of his position about as much as the ordinary English burgess or shire-knight of the period when summoned to Parliament.[2] For this arrangement enabled the witnesses of the life who, in the majority of cases, knew nothing of the miracles, to go home to their ordinary avocations when their part was finished, while those bearing testimony to the miracles did not have to put in an appearance till the commissioners were ready to proceed to the second part of the inquisition.

It would be quite impossible, and, indeed, quite irrelevant here, to attempt any discussion of the nature of these miracles. All that we can do is to accept them at the mediæval value, and while pretty confident that few of the marvellous cures related are frauds, some may perhaps choose to attribute them less to supernatural intervention than to the faith of the subjects healed, or to that of their friends. Faith-healing is a recognised phenomenon, and its results may be studied any day at Lourdes. Another explanation of these miracles is to be found in the credulity of the

[1] *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 560.

[2] In one instance we hear of witnesses "going on strike." When Simon Langton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who had been sent to England in 1246 in order to collect more evidence in the cause of Edmund of Abingdon, told the witnesses summoned to his presence in a very remote place that they would have to go to the Pope at Lyons to give their testimony, they complained bitterly, began to abuse the clergy, and nearly uttered blasphemies. Even Langton's promise that all their expenses would be paid did not succeed in inducing any but a few to go. Martène and Durand, *op. cit.*, III, 1914-1915. It was, of course, an unusual and rather unreasonable request.

mediæval mind. It should be remembered that the average man or woman of the Middle Ages was always ready, indeed preferred, to attribute results due to perfectly natural causes to supernatural agencies. They were undoubtedly encouraged in this attitude towards the mysteries of disease, at any rate, by the ignorance and lack of skill of the physicians who, with an appearance of great learning calculated to impress the simple, proved themselves incapable of grappling with its problems.[1] It must surely have been felt that where such apparent wisdom was unavailing, recovery could be the result of nothing short of supernatural intervention.

At the same time I hope it may not be considered impertinent, in view of some interest which is being aroused at the moment in the question of miracle-working by saints, to quote a thirteenth-century opinion on the subject. As the law of the Church of Rome stands at present, no person can be canonised unless he has to his credit at least two proved and attested miracles. B. Thomas More and B. John Fisher are now candidates for canonisation, but the fact that neither of them has worked any miracles may possibly prove a bar to their promotion to the higher status. The question naturally arises in one's mind—Should miracles be held absolutely essential to canonisation? One of the cardinals concerned in the case of Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury, thought that they should not. This is what he says: "Why this effort? Why this toil? why waste time in vain? We believe not in your miracles, nor do we give them the authority of the apostolic see, for signs have passed away and tongues ceased, and nothing remains but to pay regard to works which must be examined at a future time. And I say if the Universal Church had not accepted the memory and story of Blessed Martin, I, at any rate, should say that Blessed Martin had never raised to life three persons."[2] The fact that the

[1] Petrarch probably expressed the outraged feelings of many of his contemporaries in his *Invectiva contra Medicum*.

[2] B. Ward, *St. Edmund*, etc., 187. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III, 1848. Gregory IX, in his Bull *Cum dicat Dominus* (1232), had laid down that virtues without miracles, or miracles without virtues, are insufficient grounds for canonisation. This pronouncement was made in connection with the canonisation of Anthony of Padua.

opposition to Edmund's canonisation was so intimately bound up with politics somewhat detracts from the force of the opinion of this cardinal who, we are told, afterwards repented of his "rationalistic" views. Nevertheless, the incident is interesting as showing that as early as 1245 the question of the utility of miracles was being mooted.

In the case of Louis of Toulouse the *capitula miraculorum in genere* divide his miracles into twenty-five classes and deal exclusively with recovery of health.[1] There are no stories here of lost fortunes or discovery of treasure. The classes are as follows:—

1.	Raisings from the dead	12
2.	Cures of blind persons	3
3.	,, ,, deaf ,,	2
4.	,, ,, dumb ,,	2
5.	,, ,, lame ,,	2
6.	,, ,, persons with contracted limbs	5
7.	,, ,, ,, ,, contorted feet	1
8.	,, ,, dropsical persons	2
9.	,, ,, paralysed ,,	1
10.	,, ,, persons afflicted with gout	7
11.	,, ,, ,, attacked by fever	6
12.	,, ,, epileptic persons	3
13.	,, ,, persons suffering from spasms	1
14.	,, ,, insane persons	5
15.	,, ,, persons afflicted with ulcers	2
16.	,, ,, ,, suffering from diseases of the legs	2
17.	,, ,, incredulous persons punished for their unbelief in Louis' powers	2
18.	,, ,, persons injured by falls	2
19.	,, ,, ,, suffering from their heads	1
20.	,, ,, ,, suffering from ophthalmia	1
21.	,, ,, squint-eyed persons	2
22.	,, ,, persons suffering from stone	1
23.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, rupture	1

[1] A few instances of persons being saved from shipwreck by invoking Louis' aid are inserted in the evidence.

24. Cures of persons in danger at child-birth . 1
25. Deals with the vow of a man and woman who had lived twelve years without issue and were then blessed with their desire by the invocation and merits of Louis.[1]

This long list is not without interest as showing the chief ills and diseases from which the Middle Ages suffered. Indeed, from the social point of view, the study of the second part of a process of canonisation is very instructive for the side-lights which it throws on contemporary manners and customs.

The only other point, however, which it is necessary to touch on here is the question of witnesses. Before dealing with those in S. Louis' Process a few words must be said about witnesses to miracles in general. Even in the thirteenth century, lax as it was in many respects in its methods of obtaining evidence, very great care had been taken to ensure accuracy with regard to miracles. As early as 1220 the metrical Life of S. Hugh of Lincoln, in speaking of the papal commission of inquiry into his miracles, rather bombastically boasts:—

> "Examen quorum celebravit Honorius ipse
> Papa, paterque patrum, per primatem regionis
> Hujus, et abbatem de Fontibus, ad faciendam
> Inde fidem. Nullus nisi juratus, nisi certus,
> Accessit testis et idoneus; et prius aurem
> Inquisitores, quam testes signa, negarunt.
> Sic igitur de tam multis tam pauca notantes
> Transmisere brevi contexta volumine papae:
> Sed nihil est intertextum de stamine falsi."[2]

Yet the boast appears to be justified if one but glances through the pages of the reported miracles, and sees what infinite pains the commissioners took to get at the truth. For instance, not being satisfied even with the evidence of the Abbot of Eynsham, Hugh's own chaplain, concerning the cure of a madman at Ches-

[1] See also *A.O.M.C.*, XIV, 80-90, and *A.F.H.*, I, 569-576.

[2] *Metrical Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln*, edited by J. F. Dimock, ll. 1237-1245 (1860).

hunt, they dispatched the Abbot of Waltham and their chaplain to draw up a report on the spot.[1]

Again, it is instructive to read the form of interrogation, supplied by the papal instructions to commissioners, which is to be used in dealing with the subject of miracles. This form is identical in the Processes of John of Mantua, Margaret of Hungary, etc. The witnesses are to be asked how they know the miracle to be true ; to supply the exact date, the names of those present when it occurred, the place, the name of the person invoking supernatural help, and the words employed in the invocation ; to state the names of those upon whom the miracle had been performed, whether they (the witnesses) had known them before, and, if so, how many days previously they had seen them ill ; to affirm how long the cured persons had been sick, how long they had remained in good health, and, finally, to name their place of abode.

From the extant fragments relating to the inquisition into the miracles of King Louis of France, it is possible to discover that great care was taken to obtain particulars of the 333 witnesses who presented themselves. The date of their deposition as well as their name, nationality, literacy or illiteracy, diocese, *habitat*, and age are all given.

Turning to the Process of S. Louis of Toulouse, the first point which should be noticed about the witnesses is that they are practically all Provençals, and that the miracles to which they bear testimony are nearly all local ones. Those few which occur outside the confines of the County are limited to the Kingdom of France, with the exception of one which happened at Courtrai.[2] There is no record in 1308 of a miracle from any part of Italy or from Aragon. Of course, it was easier to get evidence near at hand, but at the same time the " life " witnesses are by no means

[1] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VII, 188-190 (Rolls Series 21). The elaborate inquisitions into the miracles of Edmund of Abingdon ; the Pope's decision in the first that many miracles had been proved but not each one by many witnesses ; his consequent demand that in the second inquiry fewer miracles be investigated but more witnesses produced, and that some of these and the " cures " should be sent for his examination to Lyons, cannot be taken as proof of this admirable scrupulosity. The delays were only excuses to gain time.

[2] *P.C.*, 172. Even this miracle happened to a Frenchman.

confined to Provençals, and we may be sure that had there been many foreign miracles some, at least, would have been inquired into by the commissioners. Their absence bears out the idea, which will be dealt with later on, that the cult of S. Louis began as a purely Provençal affair and only spread to other countries as a later development.

As might be expected, the city which can boast of the greatest number of miracles is Marseilles. Others come from Aix, Sisteron, Toulon, Carpentras, Riez, and Fréjus. Further afield are S. Remy, Gap, Nîmes, Arles, Avignon, Saint-Paul Trois-Châteaux in the Comtat Venaissin, and Valance-Die in the diocese of Vienne. Still more remote are Narbonne, Toulouse, Cahors, Amiens, and Courtrai. But these outlying places have scarcely ever more than one miracle apiece.[1] It is Marseilles, with Aix, Sisteron, and Fréjus, that forms the real centre of the *fama*.

Secondly, stress must be laid on the fact that the legal character of the first part of the Process is admirably maintained in the second. The commissioners throughout never allowed themselves to be carried away or to forget their part of judge. Far from showing eager credulity and piling up the number of miracles, they proved themselves just as anxious to procure all possible evidence here, to weigh, to sift, to test it, as when they were dealing with the most trivial commonplaces of Louis' life. One witness was very rarely sufficient to establish the authenticity of a miracle. Generally three or four, sometimes even five or seven persons, were required to bear testimony to the same miraculous event, and every minute circumstance was gone into with the utmost care.

Finally, it should be said that the stories are all simple and straightforward, and bear the stamp of truth. There is nothing wild, fantastic, or improbable about them, and the study of the second part of a fourteenth-century process of canonisation leaves one greatly impressed by the calm, unimpassioned character of the procedure, which aimed not at emotion and sensation, but at procuring an unbiassed judgment on the facts of the case.

[1] This is true even of Toulouse.

III.

(i).

THE CANONISATION AND TRANSLATIONS OF S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to give some account of the working of the papal commission of inquiry in a cause of canonisation under the Avignonese Popes. The length of time occupied by these commissions did not vary very greatly; it might be anything from six weeks to several months. Unfortunately, in the case of Louis of Toulouse we have not any exact information on this subject; all that we know is that "at length, after a long period of time, they completed the inquiry."[1] It must not be imagined, however, that the successful securing of a commission guaranteed to the petitioners a sure or immediate canonisation of their "protégé." On the contrary, just as so often there was great delay between the registering of the petition and the granting of the commission of inquiry, so now, after the conclusion of the latter, the chief part, and the most wearisome part, was yet to come. An active few months might well be succeeded by many years of waiting and hope deferred.

It remains then to be seen what was the result of the papal commission, and here again we can have no better guide to fourteenth-century practice than the *Ordo Romanus* of Cardinal James Gaetani. In the third stage of this work we may read a summary of general procedure; by a study of the first stage we can gain an intimate acquaintance with the workings of special

[1] *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione sancti Ludovici*. Cf. *Vita Sancti Ludovici*, etc., in *A.B.*, XI, 339.

causes. From the summary we learn that it was the duty of the commissioners, as soon as the inquiry had been completed, to send the evidence which they had collected under sure seals to the Curia. This evidence, which, as has been seen, was "put into public form" by a notary or notaries, had to be signed by the notaries, the commissioners, and, occasionally, by other ecclesiastics present at the proceedings, and their seals attached. In the case of Dominic, two duly attested sealed copies of the report were deposited in certain monasteries. It is improbable that there was generally such a mass of material as in the case of King Louis of France. Boniface VIII said that one mule could not carry all the documents.[1] On the arrival of the precious documents at the Curia a very intricate process of examination began. Perhaps one can scarcely be surprised that it occupied fourteen years in the case of Louis IX. The first stage was for the Pope to hand over the book of evidence to certain of his chaplains, "expert in such matters," whose business it was to make abstracts of the whole document. This done, the abstracted document was committed to the higher power for whose benefit it had been thus prepared, namely three cardinals, bishop, priest, and deacon, who, in their turn, made a thorough examination of the process of canonisation. When this small committee of three had properly digested the evidence, they appeared before the Pope in full consistory and made a general statement of what they had learned, but no particulars were discussed. These were reserved for the fourth and final stage of proceedings, when the three again appeared before the Pope, in consistory limited to a few cardinals. Then the real work began. The testimony of each witness on each article, or at least the testimony of the best informed witnesses in every case, was solemnly read, first concerning the life and then concerning the miracles. After the reading of each deposition, the Pope consulted with the cardinals whether the witness had proved the article or not, and the verdict was taken down by one of the cardinals. When the whole of the life had been gone through in this way, it was determined by reference to the verdicts whether the excellence of the life with

[1] Delaborde, *Fragments de l'Enquête*, etc., 5, quoting Du Chesne, *Scriptores rerum gallicarum*, V, 484.

which they had been dealing were proved or no, and a decision having been reached, the committee passed on to a similar consideration of the miracles. Let no one after reading this account say that canonisations were lightly rushed into by the Popes of this period.

The two canonisation ceremonies described in detail by Gaetani, the accounts of which are transcribed in the Avignon manuscript already mentioned, are those of Peter Morone and Thomas of Cantelupe. It is tantalising that the scribe, who, after copying the canonisation ceremonies of Thomas at length, runs on without any break to relate those of Louis, should give a very incomplete account of the latter. We have to content ourselves with the very interesting proceedings in the causes of Peter (1313) and Thomas (1320), and with the reflection that the final stages of Louis' cause probably resembled those of Thomas very closely.[1]

Peter's case is peculiarly intricate. We learn from the account of Gaetani, who was especially interested in all that concerned Celestine V,[2] that the examination of the evidence collected during the inquiry into his virtues and miracles passed through as many as five stages before the Pope's decision to canonise him was announced in public consistory on 2nd May, 1313. First of all, after the inquiry was concluded, the evidence was handed over to three or four cardinals for examination and arrangement. Next, a consistory was held, at which the Pope himself was present, and at which the Sacred College discussed the headings made by the small committee of cardinals and the attestations of the witnesses. The Pope put his signature to the best attested miracles. In the third place, since this consistory, through lack of time, had not been able to make any very searching examination, Clement V appointed a fresh commission, consisting of eight cardinals, to consider the matter.

[1] There are references in the account of Thomas' canonisation to these proceedings which furnished a precedent on that occasion. See also *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione*, etc. "Quam [inquisicionem] cum sigillis suis munitam domino summo Pontifici presentassent, ab eodem fuit quibusdam de Cardinalibus tradita ut, examinacione diligenti premissa, per eos sibi et universo Cardinalium collegio quod eis videretur super negocio fideliter referretur." Cf. *Vita*, in *A.B.*, IX, 339.

[2] He wrote a metrical Life of Celestine, concluding with an account of the canonisation. See *AA.SS.*, May, IV, 474-485.

Still not satisfied, the Pope then ordered six or eight prelates of outstanding ability to draw up yet another report, but they were not to touch the miracles which he himself had approved. This order was given at the Council of Vienne, but the Council closed on 6th May, 1312, without Clement having come to any definite decision with regard to the canonisation of Peter. Lastly, a secret consistory, composed of some fifteen to twenty cardinals, was held at Avignon, probably during the second half of April, 1313.[1]

Most fortunately, the record of the secret consistory has survived.[2] It is an extremely interesting document and especially valuable owing to the fact that we possess very few accounts of these consistorial discussions.[3] By studying it we can see that proceedings in a cause of canonisation were not always the impersonal, judicial transactions which they were intended to be, and we learn something of the passions which occasionally animated participants in them. Thus we discover that the Colonna cardinals, who had been the enemies of Boniface VIII, professed themselves entirely satisfied with the evidence which had been adduced at the previous consistories, and we find them implying that Clement V had been unnecessarily dilatory and might have brought proceedings to a close a year previously at Vienne. The object of the consistory was to go through Peter's miracles again. This was done, and after the recital of each miracle it was incumbent upon each of the cardinals present to state whether the miracle appeared to him to have been proved or no, or whether the point remained in doubt. The Pope recorded his verdict at the end. It is interesting to see that the Colonna cardinals generally declared the miracles to be proved,

[1] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV, 61-62.

[2] It is printed in *A.B.*, XVI, 475-487 (1897), as one of the documents in *S. Pierre Célestin et ses premiers Biographes*. For an account of the document, see *op. cit.*, 389-392.

[3] There is a very interesting example of one of the consistorial discussions in the cause of King Louis of France given in Delaborde's *Fragments de l'Enquête*, etc., 35. It is entitled "In Nomine Domini, Amen. Quintum Miraculum sub domino Honorio lectum fuit in consistorio et inter probata miracula annotatum." The scrupulous care with which the smallest discrepancies between the evidence of different witnesses are noticed and discussed is extremely illuminating.

while others were consistently refractory or reserved their decision. Finally, it was decided to hold the customary public consistory, which was the last step before the actual ceremony of canonisation.

The proceedings in the cause of Thomas of Cantelupe were far less protracted. Gaetani simply gives a short account of the consistorial discussions, of the decision of those cardinals who were present at the debates that the Pope, who had asked their advice, should canonise Thomas, and of John XXII's circumspection in consulting in addition the absent members of the Sacred College. As soon as the answers of the absent cardinals had been received, the Pope, descending from his seat, laying aside his mitre and genuflecting, announced to the assembled cardinals that the life and miracles of Thomas had been proved of sufficient merit to justify his canonisation. Then rising and resuming his mitre, he informed the cardinals that the decision must for the moment be kept secret, but that it should be made public after Easter.[1]

The proceedings in the case of Elzéar de Sabran [2] may also be mentioned. His inquiry closed in February, 1352. On 9th May following, the commissioners, having closed up the precious process book with their own seals, handed it over personally to the Pope in full consistory, together with his own letters of instruction to them. The cardinals chosen by Clement VI to examine the process were Talleyrand, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, Peter, Cardinal Priest of S. Martin in Montibus, and John, Cardinal Deacon of S. George in Velabro. The following day, 10th May, they assembled in the house of Cardinal Talleyrand and summoned to their aid the Bishops of Apt and Senez. These five ecclesiastics opened the book of the process and examined it for report to the papal consistory.

The early stages of the work of canonisation were expeditious enough; it was after the inception of the cardinals' preliminary examination that proceedings usually began to hang fire. The report generally took a long time. Although the mass of material in the case of Louis of Toulouse cannot have

[1] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV, 55-56.
[2] *AA.SS.*, September, VII, 560.

been anything like so great as in that of his great-uncle and namesake, it was still being digested when Clement V died in 1314.[1] Even if the report were more speedily completed, it did not ensure very prompt attention. Ten years were allowed to elapse between the date of Louis' commission of inquiry and his actual canonisation. A glance at the dates given in Appendix E will show that this was not so long as in some instances. It is interesting to compare thirteenth- and fourteenth-century practice in this respect. In the thirteenth century, canonisation usually either followed very swiftly on the inquisition,[2] as in the cases of SS. Hugh and Dominic, where only a year elapsed between the two events, or else did not take place at all.[3] Out of the ten thirteenth-century processes which I have cited,[4] only five resulted in canonisation. In the fourteenth century, on the other hand, proceedings were dilatory but, except in three cases, led to the performance of the act of canonisation within the century. Nevertheless, the delay in Louis' case did not fail to cause annoyance to his family, who tried to hurry matters up a little by means of presents in influential quarters. On 12th September, 1311, we find Robert of Naples causing four hundred gold florins to be paid to Friar William of S. Marcel for the expedition of the papal verdict on the subject of Louis' miracles.[5]

There is a curious tradition, current as early as the time of Giovanni Villani, who states it as a fact in his *Storia*,[6] that

[1] "Verum, pendente relacione predicta, ipse dominus Papa fuit de hac luce a Domino evocatus." *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione*, etc.

[2] The proceedings in the case of Louis of France were, as has been pointed out, necessarily long.

[3] Three years elapsed between the inception of the inquiry into the life and miracles of Edmund of Abingdon in 1243 and his canonisation in 1246. Judged by later standards this was quite a short time, but the promoters of the cause considered it very long, partly, perhaps, because the political opposition offered was so great. At any rate, we find, in addition to the evidence collected at the inquiries, unsolicited testimonials being dispatched to the Pope by influential bishops and abbots who hoped in this way to hasten matters. They evidently thought that if canonisation did not come quickly it would not come at all. The Abbot of Clairvaux declared that if Edmund's case broke down he had better abandon some less important ones which he had in hand.

[4] p. 166, n. 1.

[5] Riccio, *Genealogià di Carlo II*, in *A.S.P.N.*, VII, 226, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1210, C, n. 195, f. 112v.

[6] Bk. IX, c. 23.

Louis was canonised at the Council of Vienne in 1311. This statement is wholly erroneous, for although there may have been some talk of it then, the event did not actually take place till six years later.

It was reserved for Pope John XXII, who, as James Duèze of Toulouse, had been so kind a friend to the young and inexperienced Bishop twenty years before, to place Louis in the calendar of saints. John was consecrated Pope on 5th September, 1316; the Bull of canonisation is dated 7th April, 1317,[1] so that it was one of the early acts of his pontificate.[2] The Bull is couched in the usual grandiloquent terms suitable for so solemn and formal a pronouncement, and gives a general outline of the life of the saint-elect and the reasons for which the Pope has thought fit to consummate his canonisation. In conclusion it orders all faithful persons to observe 19th August (the day of Louis' death) as the feast of a bishop-confessor, and further grants an indulgence of two years and eighty days to all those visiting his tomb on the feast-day, and one year and forty days to all those visiting it within the octave. The Bull was promulgated by the Pope with much ceremony at Avignon,[3] but no members of the Angevin family were able to be present on the auspicious occasion. It was not till the following year that King Robert and his wife, Sanchia of Majorca, made a journey to Provence. To make up for this deficiency, however, the Pope addressed letters to various relations of the new saint, which afford an amusing study of mediæval addresses of compliment.

The persons thus honoured by the Pope were the saint's mother, Mary of Hungary, Queen Dowager of Sicily;[4] his brothers, King Robert of Naples, and Philip, Prince of Taranto,

[1] *B.F.*, V, No. 257, 111-114. However, lest he should appear to be acting impetuously, John had the Process again examined by several cardinals. *A.F.*, VII, 261, *In Translacione*, etc. It was then approved by the whole College.

[2] It is interesting to notice that Elzéar de Sabran, whose commission of inquiry took place in 1351, was canonised by his relative, Urban V, in 1369. But it was among the last, not among the first, acts of his pontificate.

[3] Verlaque, in his *Saint Louis*, etc., p. 165, says that the ceremony took place in the church of the Friars Preachers, but does not state his authority. His account is very inaccurate.

[4] *B.F.*, V, No. 259, 115.

and his sister, Mary of Majorca ;[1] and his nieces, Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel and widow of Louis X of France,[2] and Joanna, daughter of Philip of Taranto and wife of Oissim, King of Armenia.[3] The Pope also sent letters to more distant relations : Louis' cousins, Philip V of France,[4] and " Blanche," Duchess of Burgundy ;[5] his brothers-in-law, James of Aragon[6] and Sancho of Majorca, and his sister-in-law, Sanchia of Majorca, Queen of Naples.[7] That addressed to the saint's mother is a masterpiece of worldly flattery disguised under the thin veil of pious sentiment.

It is much to be regretted that we have no account of the actual canonisation ceremony in the case of Louis of Toulouse, although a few particulars about the immediate preliminaries are recounted in the Avignon manuscript of Gaetani's *Ordo Romanus*. We can, however, obtain an excellent idea of what took place by reading cc. CXI and CXV of the *Ordo* as printed by Mabillon,[8] and by comparing the general statements which they contain with Gaetani's detailed descriptions of the ceremonies in connection with the canonisations of Peter Morone and Thomas of Cantelupe.[9]

We learn that after the examination of evidence was quite completed a day was fixed for the holding of a public consistory at which the Pope, cardinals, prelates, and an assembly of clergy and laity were to be present. Some eight prelates were then appointed to preach short sermons at this consistory. In their discourses they were to put forward reasons in favour of the contemplated canonisation. Notice of the day was given three weeks or a month beforehand in order that the preachers chosen might have time to prepare their arguments adequately. At the conclusion of the sermons they were to join in entreating the Pope to proceed with the canonisation. Two especially able

[1] *B.F.*, V, 115, n. 2.
[2] A. Coulon, *Lettres Secrètes et Curiales du Pape Jean XXII*, No. 163.
[3] *B.F.*, V, 116 n. 2. [4] *B.F.*, V, No. 260, 115-116.
[5] In reality Agnes. Coulon, *op. cit.*, No. 173. See also No. 177.
[6] *B.F.*, V, No. 261, 116. [7] *B.F.*, V, 116, n. 2.
[8] *Museum Italicum*, II, 412-413 and 420-424.
[9] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV, 61-67, and 55-59.

cardinals were then deputed to arrange everything in connection with the public consistory.

Such are the general rules laid down in the *Ordo Romanus*. It is interesting to see how closely they were followed in the cases of Peter and Thomas. Gaetani's account of the ceremonies in the former instance opens with the instructions which he himself addressed to Clement V on the subject.[1] Gaetani informs the Pope about the way in which he should summon the consistory and outlines the procedure to be adopted. Clement is to be careful to arrange the order of the preachers; officials of the Curia are to associate themselves with the prelates in supplicating for the canonisation of Peter, and the Pope is to reply by saying that he will take advice with regard to the granting of their petition. There is, however, no mention of the appointment of two cardinals to arrange the ceremonial.

Gaetani's *Ordo Romanus* states that when the day of the public consistory arrived the Pope appeared clad in a red cope and having on his head a golden mitre ornamented with pearls. The cardinals and prelates wore woollen copes. After the Pope was seated with a cardinal deacon on either hand and the other cardinals sitting round (the prelates stood), the proctor of the cause rose and begged the Pope to hear the sermons which had been prepared. The sermons over, the cardinal deacon on the Pope's left said the Confession, and then, after pronouncing an indulgence and giving the blessing, the Pope retired.

The actual public consistories described by Gaetani prove to have been in conformity with this procedure. The only ceremony recorded by the Avignon scribe in the case of Louis is the public consistory held on 6th April, the day before his canonisation, in the courtyard below the episcopal palace at Avignon.[2] We learn that the Pope spoke briefly and that one of the cardinals read an account of Louis' life and miracles. The proctor, Friar Gulgumus [*sic*],[3] then called upon the prelates to preach their

[1] *Ibid.*, 62-63.

[2] *Ibid.*, 58-59. It should be noticed that the dividing line between the accounts of the canonisations of Thomas of Cantelupe and Louis of Toulouse is wrongly designated in Labande's note on p. 55.

[3] Was this possibly William of S. Marcel, who had been employed by King Robert in 1311 to try to hasten the canonisation of Louis?

sermons. The names of the preachers (two archbishops and five bishops) are stated as well as their texts. One of the sermons had to be omitted on account of the lateness of the hour, much to the disgust of the bishop who had prepared it. In conclusion, the Pope announced that he would give his answer with regard to the canonisation the next day.

The procedure in the cases of Peter Morone and Thomas of Cantelupe was almost identical with that which I have just described. More particulars, however, are given as to the disposition of the various participants in the ceremony, and on both occasions the Pope concluded by saying that he must take counsel before granting the petition for canonisation.

The canonisation ceremony itself, which usually followed very closely upon the holding of the public consistory, was, of course, extremely solemn. The minutiæ of the procedure are set forth in Gaetani's *Ordo Romanus*. The Pope arrived early on the day announced at the appointed church, which was brilliantly illuminated by innumerable tapers. He was received by a procession of clergy. After praying apart for a short space, and after having received the cardinals and prelates, he ascended an elevated throne in front of the high altar. Seated there in his rich cope and mitre, the Pope exhorted the people assembled in the nave to pray that God would not suffer him to err in consummating the canonisation. The chanting of the *Veni Creator* closely preceded the central moment of the service when the Pope pronounced the formula of canonisation. Then followed the announcement of the feast-day of the new saint, and an indulgence was offered to those who should visit his tomb. After the *Te Deum*, the Confession, and the recital of prayers in which the new saint's name was introduced, the Pope pronounced the absolution and blessing. The ceremony concluded with the celebration of Mass.

With the exception of a few differences in the order of reciting the prayers, the long account which Gaetani gives of the canonisation of Peter Morone on 5th May, 1313, corresponds very closely to the general rules thus laid down. Some interesting little details are supplied. We hear, for example, that not all the torches were lighted because of the heat; that the chief door was kept shut (which seems a mistake under the circumstances),

and that the Pope wore a beautiful cope of English workmanship. At the conclusion of the ceremony there was some dispute because the acolytes and subdeacons claimed the lights as a perquisite. Gaetani tells us that he was the cardinal deacon on the Pope's right throughout the service (the two cardinal deacons, one on the right, the other on the left, played a very important part in the ceremonial of canonisation), and it was no doubt partly for this reason that he describes it at such length. The canonisation of Thomas is described much more briefly, but it is interesting to know that the details of the ceremonial were copied from the canonisation ceremony of Louis of Toulouse.

In accordance with the wish expressed in his will (after episcopal equipment had been procured with great difficulty,[1] and presumably after embalming), Louis' body had been removed from Brignoles for burial in the church of the Friars Minor at Marseilles.[2] Here it was placed before the high altar in a simple tomb, such as Louis himself would have approved, without any monument. His earthly remains, however, were not suffered to rest in peace. During the twenty years which had elapsed between his death and his canonisation the number of miracles, attested and otherwise, which had been wrought by him, brought flocks of Provençal pilgrims to his grave. After Louis' canonisation—which, as was very often the case, pointed to the translation of his body (i.e. its elevation to a place of honour)—it was felt both by these pilgrims and by the Friars Minor of Marseilles themselves that a fitting shrine should be raised for the new saint. Moreover, Robert of Naples, who seems to have had a great affection—although how far genuine, and how far politic, it would be difficult to say—for his dead brother,[3] appears to have considered their point of view a reasonable one. Angevin prestige had been increased by securing an Angevin saint and was worth some further expenditure.

[1] *P.C.*, 29. Testimony of William of Cornillon. He says that Charles II was ignorant of this fact. He was probably not told in order to avoid wounding his susceptibilities.

[2] *P.C.*, 97. Testimony of Raymond de Bancon.

[3] Robert composed a rhythmical office in Louis' honour which was inserted in the Franciscan Breviary by the General Chapter of Marseilles in 1343. See *Analecta Franciscana*, III, 539, and Bouche, *Chorographie de Provence*, II, 349.

Accordingly, in 1319, the King, who was at that time making a long stay in Provence, determined upon the translation of Louis' body and its re-burial in a more magnificent tomb. In this idea he was greatly encouraged by his second wife, Sanchia of Majorca, a religious enthusiast, like all the other members of her House, and a violent partisan of the extreme Franciscan Spirituals. Sanchia was an ardent adherent of the cult of her young brother-in-law, and shortly after the publication of the Bull of Canonisation by John XXII she had dispatched several costly presents to the Franciscan convent at Marseilles.[1] On 8th November, 1319, in the presence of Robert, Sanchia, their niece Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel and widow of Louis X of France, and a great concourse of courtiers, nobles, and people, S. Louis' body was taken out of its grave and exposed to the gaze of the pious and curious.[2] Before being placed in the costly marble tomb which Robert had had constructed for it in the choir of the church, several portions were removed and enclosed in rich reliquaries made for the purpose.[3]

For a century Louis rested undisturbed in this new tomb. It was visited by numberless pilgrims who received indulgences and offered gifts at the shrine, which thus became a source of wealth to the Franciscans of Marseilles. Further, the Royal House of Anjou was constant in its grants and privileges to the convent throughout the fourteenth century. These included the continued payment of the annual sum which had been allowed by Charles II for the celebration of a Requiem Mass for Louis' soul, and a pension for the very necessary guardian of his shrine.[4]

It is not often that a saint is honoured with a double trans-

[1] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 168, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1384, H, n. 353, f. 75. "Calix unus magni ponderis de auro puro. Crux una cum lapidibus pretiosis de argento. Candelabra de argento duo et omnia deaurata. Duo panni preciosi et unum frontale. Cappella completa, una planeta, dalmatica, tunica et unum pluviale. Amictus, albae, stola, manipuli, tobaliae, cortinae et omnia multum pulchra."

[2] See *In Translacione sancti Ludovici episcopi*, etc., in *A.F.*, VII, 258-262, *A.O.M.C.*, XIV, 156-158, and *Vita S. Ludovici*, c. 75, in *A.B.*, IX, 340.

[3] Robert, for instance, removed his brother's brain to Naples.

[4] *Verlaque, Saint Louis*, etc., 171, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1344-1345, B, n. 346, f. 145^{v}. Robert's charter is dated 8th June, 1321, from Avignon.

lation.[1] This distinction, however, fell to Louis of Toulouse. The first translation, in 1319, although quite contrary to the spirit of Louis, was a peaceful ceremony. The second, in 1423, would have been ten times more abhorrent to him.[2] In that year the war of the Sicilian Succession, waged between Alfonso of Aragon and Louis of Anjou, caught Marseilles in its clutches. This city, which belonged to Louis of Anjou as Count of Provence, had to undergo a siege by Aragonese troops. An entrance was forced on 19th November, and during the confusion which ensued the body of S. Louis was discovered by two Aragonese soldiers in a private house in the town, whither it had been conveyed for safety. At first sight it may seem strange that it should have been considered necessary to take such a precaution, but when we remember the armed men of Perugia who nearly succeeded in snatching S. Francis' body for their own city, the fears of the citizens of Marseilles seem less unreasonable. Nor did they prove groundless. In the Middle Ages the passionate desire for relics led not only to lawful traffic but to quite unauthorised acts of depredation, and no sooner had the discovery of the body been reported to Alfonso than he promptly determined to carry it off to Aragon. The cult of S. Louis was still flourishing in Aragon, partly owing to his seven years' detention there, and partly owing to the marriage of his sister, Blanche, with James II of Aragon, whose descendants cherished his memory. Accordingly, Alfonso promised the authorities of Marseilles that if they would consent to give up their beloved saint quietly he would spare the town. The choice before Marseilles was a cruel one, for S. Louis' fame brought her prestige and his pilgrims brought her money. It was well known that a refusal to comply with the King of Aragon's demands would mean inevitable ruin, as well as the probable loss of their saint. After some hesitation Louis' body was handed over to the Aragonese, but not before an arm had been secured for Marseilles.

Alfonso immediately sailed from Provence with the precious

[1] Edward the Confessor was twice translated; first by Henry II and secondly by Henry III.

[2] The following account is taken from Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, III, Bk. 13, c. 22. See also Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., where the date is wrongly given as 1433.

burden on board. A storm arising, which the sailors attributed to the sacrilegious rape of the saint's body, there was a movement among them to cast it into the sea. The King, however, succeeded in allaying their fears, the storm subsided, and the port of Valencia was gained in safety. Crowds flocked to gaze on the remains of S. Louis, and Alfonso's daring robbery was hailed with acclamation by the people of Valencia, the more so when they learned that it was in their midst that the saint was henceforth to rest. The King raised for Louis a costly shrine in one of the side chapels of the cathedral, which chapel he placed beneath the saint's patronage.[1] Here, in this his last resting-place, his relics are exposed every 19th August to the veneration of the faithful. After all, although we may deplore the removal of S. Louis' body from Provence, the home of his childhood and the scene of his death and nearly all his miracles, yet there is something fitting in the fact that one of the most highly honoured of mediæval Franciscan saints should rest in the land where he had made his vow to enter the Order.

III.

(ii).

MEDIÆVAL CALENDARS.

Any account of canonisation in the fourteenth century would be incomplete without some mention of mediæval calendars. To say that John XXII placed Louis of Toulouse in the calendar of saints is a misleading, although a generally accepted, phrase. It implies, on the face of it, that in 1317 there was in existence one universal calendar of the Western Church, and that immediately canonisation had taken place, the Pope ordered all provinces, dioceses, churches, and individuals to enter the fresh name in their own particular copies. Nothing, however, could be further

[1] Cardinal Peter of Foix, Papal Legate to Aragon, conceded the faculty for the erection of the chapel in 1425. *AA.SS.*, August, III, 800. Zurita, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

from the truth. In view of the religious divisions by which Europe has been torn for the last four hundred years there has been a tendency to exaggerate the uniformity of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, and it is common to read into mediæval times post-Counter-Reformation attributes which are characteristic of the modern Catholic, as opposed to the mediæval, Church.

Besides the snare contained for the unwary in modern usages, the phrase " placed in the calendar of saints," does not take any account of martyrologies, and the clear distinction which must be drawn between a martyrology and a calendar. An ecclesiastical calendar in the Middle Ages simply means a " list of the feasts kept in any particular church, diocese, or country, arranged in order under their proper dates." [1] Thus a calendar deals with the particular, but a martyrology, on the other hand, is concerned with the general. It is a compilation, arranged in calendar form, " extending to all classes of saints and embracing all parts of the world." [2] Thus every saint should be found in a martyrology, only a select few in any one calendar, and it would be nearer the truth to say that John XXII placed Louis of Toulouse in the martyrology as an object of veneration by the Universal Church, with the option of his inclusion in their calendar by any community or individual.

As might be expected, this freedom in the choice of saints led to the most extraordinary diversity in the matter of mediæval calendars. It was not only that different countries patronised, or were patronised by, different saints, but neighbouring provinces, dioceses, and churches showed great independence in their observance of feasts. The most cursory study of English calendars, which may be taken as typical of mediæval calendars in general, reveals this fact. Here, by the close of the fifteenth century, there were three recognised calendars, corresponding to the then more or less stereotyped Uses of Sarum, Hereford, and York. Had matters stopped there, however, an English calendar would have been a comparatively simple thing. But just as the Uses were flexible, so were the calendars, and while it was

[1] H. Thurston, Article on Calendars in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III.
[2] *Ibid.*

general for a church to adopt one or other of the Use calendars as a model, it then proceeded to adapt it to local and other requirements. Often it is easy to detect the insertion of a local favourite; thus one can understand that the diocese of Norwich would add S. Botolph's name to the Sarum calendar. The calendar of Oxford University, on the other hand, made free use of all three calendars, and added some saints who do not occur in any of the models. In the west, again, Exeter admitted S. David and other Welsh saints long before Canterbury adopted the former in 1398, while he was never adopted by York.

From all this it will be clear that while, of course, the presence of a name in a calendar is no guarantee of canonisation, neither is absence any proof of non-canonisation. That a prophet has no honour in his own country, does not hold good in the case of saints in the Middle Ages: their local character is striking. England, for example, troubled very little about foreign saints. The days of certain early and rather obscure bishops and martyrs were observed, but no church dreamed of adding contemporary names unless of unusual fame, and exercised the right of option to the full. Of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century non-English saints, few would be interested in S. Louis of France, S. Louis of Toulouse, S. Ives, S. Bridget, S. Peter Morone. Even SS. Francis and Dominic were far from universally adopted in calendars not belonging to churches of their own Orders, and to find S. Thomas Aquinas' name is, of course, much rarer still. Even papally canonised English saints were not invariably admitted. Gilbert of Sempringham was canonised by Innocent III in 1202, but a Sarum calendar gives no proof of the fact, although his feast is duly entered in that of York.

Very naturally this extreme multiplicity of calendars led to undue rivalry and confusion, and this was one of the abuses struck at by the sixteenth-century movement of reform. The Roman Breviary and Missal which appeared in 1568 and 1570 respectively, in accordance with a decree of the Council of Trent, contained a new calendar. This was to be the Roman calendar, obligatory on English, French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards alike. While this standard calendar allowed of the adoption of new names on papal authority, it was no longer a case of option

but of compulsion in accepting them. In the same way local celebrations were still to be permitted, but only after the permission of the Pope and Congregation of Rites had been sought and obtained. Nor must the observance of local saints' days exclude that of the feasts prescribed in the Roman calendar. Thus licence was allowed, but all were to observe the Roman calendar in common. This is the state of affairs which exists to-day, and of which we are too apt to think when we speak of a mediæval saint being placed in the calendar by the Pope. Of this also many critics of the Anglican Prayer Book are doubtless thinking when they complain of the foreign omissions in our calendar, and speak of the restoration of names which were not contained in any of the calendars prefixed to the mediæval English Uses.

IV.

THE CULT OF S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

It may be a matter of some surprise that S. Louis of Toulouse, who to-day is, I believe, barely even a name to the average member of the Roman Church, should have enjoyed for about a hundred and fifty years an almost unrivalled popularity among secondary Franciscan saints. We find his cult flourishing in Provence, Italy, Aragon, and, to a lesser degree, in France, and even in Germany, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, however, it gradually dies away until the devotion accorded to the memory of Louis of Toulouse is now practically confined to the members of his own Order.

The origin and manifestations of this flourishing cult, together with its almost total extinction, are questions which have excited the attention of several writers, and more than one attempt has been made to answer them. By far the most interesting of these are the articles of M. Émile Berteaux and P. Beda Kleinschmidt, O.M., entitled respectively *Les Saints Louis dans l'art italien*[1] and *St. Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst.*[2] Neither of these studies, however, delightful as they are in themselves, appears to me to be wholly satisfactory as a critical account of S. Louis' cult. Both writers, as the titles of their articles imply, are mainly concerned with S. Louis in art. Moreover, M. Berteaux is so much concerned with the cult in Italy, that he tends to slur over the fact of its presence elsewhere. P. Beda Kleinschmidt, on the other hand, is wider in his range than M. Berteaux, with

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 158, 616-644 (1900).
[2] *A.F.H.*, II, 197-215 (1909).

whose conclusions as to the causes of the popularity of the cult he does not wholly agree. But he, too, deals chiefly with one aspect of the cult.

M. Berteaux maintains that the popularity of the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse was due to political causes, that it was in the main a piece of Angevin-Guelf propaganda in Italy ; while P. B. Kleinschmidt contends that it was pre-eminently the result of Louis' Franciscanism, which took hold of the popular imagination. Now it would seem that both these influences were at work, but that neither is sufficient of itself. As generally happens, S. Louis' cult was surely due not to one chief cause but to a mixture of causes. It was political, it was popular, it was Franciscan, it was also a family cult. But the point which seems to me to give light to the whole, and which Berteaux and Kleinschmidt have tended to neglect, is that the nature of the cult differed in different countries. In Italy, for instance, it was due to one motive or mixture of motives, in Provence to another, and it would be as untrue to deny its political complexion in the former as it would its general and family characteristics in the latter.

In the same way, Berteaux and Kleinschmidt do not agree about the date of the disappearance of the cult in Italy. It is a question which requires to be looked at from every point of view. To this, however, we shall come later on, in the course of tracing the origin and history of the cult separately in each country.

It is only fitting that we should begin this study of the cult of S. Louis with Provence, for it was in Provence that the cult originated. This is not surprising when we come to consider the matter, for Louis' associations with the County were of the most intimate kind. Here he had grown up ; his childhood was associated with its chief cities ; he had died at Brignoles. It is little wonder that the Provençals regarded the saintly young Bishop, whose story of renunciation, comparable even to that of S. Francis himself, appealed vividly to their sympathy, as peculiarly their own property. They expected him to be ready to help themselves and their children, and when their prayers to him were answered it was natural that they proclaimed the miraculous powers of their patron.

Provence was, then, as has been seen, the centre of Louis' *fama*. It was here that his miraculous tomb performed wonders almost exclusively for the benefit of the people of the County, a fact which led the Archbishop of Arles and the other prelates of Provence to clamour for the legalisation of Louis' cult. In this, gratitude, which found expression in the confraternity of Aix, already mentioned, and a desire to enhance the fame of the County, widely renowned as the home of saints, were strangely blended. That is not to say that Charles II of Sicily was not in the background egging them on, but that the King would have had far more difficulty, have had, indeed, little pretext for his request for a papal commission, if there had not been this vigorous unofficial *cultus* in Provence.

It is, then, not too much to say that the commission of inquiry of 1307, and, to a lesser extent, the canonisation of 1317, were the work of Provence. Their object once secured, however, Berteaux would give us to understand that the Provençals henceforward neglected the cult of S. Louis, which was transferred to Italy. This, however, was by no means the case. It is quite true that if one takes the number of pictorial representations alone as the indication of a flourishing cult, Italy's devotion to Louis makes that of Provence seem cold. But there are many other ways of expressing devotion besides frescoes and altar pieces. Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the home of painting: she, therefore, expressed her reverence for saints through the medium of the artist. Provence was not similarly endowed, and so had to manifest her affection for Louis in other kinds of memorials.

In the first place, within thirty years of Louis' death at Brignoles the devotion of Provence to his memory was causing it to be categorically stated that he had been born in that town.[1] Berteaux adduces as an instance of the vigour of the Italian cult what he calls the *pretended* claim of Italy that Louis was born within the confines of the kingdom of Naples. This statement, however, proves nothing as to the Italian cult of S. Louis in the fourteenth century, as there is no evidence of any such claim being made then. The Provençal story, on the other hand, is

[1] See Francis of Meyronnes, *Sermones de Laudibus Sanctorum*, 101 *et seq.*

excellent proof that Louis' cult was a very living thing in the County at that time.

It would, indeed, have been strange if Provence had lost its devotion to one whose rich shrine attracted pilgrims innumerable. So famous, indeed, did it become that we find Clement VI, in 1343, conceding to the Franciscan Order the same indulgences for the feast of S. Louis as for those of SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua.[1]

The number of chapels in Provence dedicated to S. Louis in the fourteenth century is another proof of the preservation of his cult there. Not only was the Minorite church at Marseilles, where he was buried, rebuilt and placed beneath his patronage, but the first side-chapel founded in the new Franciscan church at S. Maximin in 1337 was dedicated to S. Louis.[2] Again, as early as 1320 John XXII granted indulgences to those visiting the chapel built in honour of S. Louis by Bartholomew, Bishop of Fréjus, in the church of S. Mary at Fréjus.[3] In the same year, the Franciscans of Brignoles dedicated one of their lateral chapels to Louis and placed there for veneration all the precious objects which the saint had left them in his will.[4] The Minorites of Aix also had a chapel in his honour. Further to increase the cult of S. Louis in Provence a fair was instituted on his feast-day by Robert of Naples at Marseilles, which lasted throughout the octave.[5]

Nor was the Provençal cult simply Franciscan. M. Berteaux is by no means justified in speaking as if the miracles which are recorded during the fourteenth century belonged exclusively to Italy. One of the most famous stories, and the one which perhaps took the greatest hold of popular imagination, was the miraculous rescue from shipwreck of the merchant, or, as in other versions, the merchants of Marseilles.[6] Then we have the tales

[1] *B.F.*, VI, No. 182, 105.

[2] Verlaque, *Saint Louis*, etc., 179-180, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1337-1338, A, n. 311, f. 305.

[3] *B.F.*, V, No. 387, 180.

[4] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 188. See Appendix B.

[5] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 179, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1338, 1339, E, f. 82. Robert of Naples did everything that he could to strengthen Provençal devotion to his brother's memory.

[6] *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, III. (*Miracula Sancti Ludovici*, 447-452, etc.)

of the Hebrew doctor, the blind woman of the Order of Penitents,[1] and the little boy who accidentally killed his brother,[2] all belonging to Marseilles. There is ample evidence that the cult of S. Louis flourished in Provence throughout the fourteenth century, and as late as 1382 we find the anti-pope, Clement VII, increasing the indulgences of pilgrims visiting his shrine, in return for the hospitality extended towards the Pope by the Minorite convent of Marseilles in June, 1379.[3] In the fifteenth century a confraternity of Black Penitents was founded under the patronage of S. Louis at Brignoles,[4] which shows plainly that he was not receiving the neglect in Provence alleged by M. Berteaux.

Naturally, after 1423, the complexion of affairs was changed. The rape of S. Louis' relics by Alfonso of Aragon left Marseilles a mourning and widowed city, and with the departure of the body of S. Louis from Provence there also departed his cult. The bequests at Aix, Brignoles,[5] and S. Maximin still continued to be exhibited on 19th August, but the people as a whole lost interest in a saint who no longer worked miracles in their midst. Nor had the French Dukes of Anjou, who had succeeded the Neapolitan House as Counts of Provence, the same family connection with S. Louis to sustain their devotion. It was different in Italy, where not only were the Kings of Sicily intimately connected with the Aragonese cult of S. Louis, but where his story appealed powerfully to the art of the fifteenth-century primitives. There was no rifled shrine there to cause the decay of his cult; there was every reason why it should be perpetuated for another hundred years by artists and sculptors.

The origin and history of the Italian cult of S. Louis of Toulouse has been admirably described by M. Berteaux, and there is little that can be added to it in the sphere of art at least. We have seen that the Provençal cult was due to personal affection for Louis, the fascination of his story, natural Minorite devotion, and the family influence of the Angevins as Counts of Provence.

[1] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* [2] *Appendix ad Miracula*, in *A.B.*, IX, 341-353.

[3] *B.F.*, VII, No. 645, 237-238.

[4] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 188, quoting Arch. communales de Brignoles. Registre des délibérations, 1612-1617, f. 128^{v}.

[5] See *Pontificalia de S. Louis d'Anjou évêque de Toulouse conservés a Brignoles*, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, IV and V (1860-1861).

In Italy there could be little personal about the cult as far as the Italians themselves were concerned. Louis had spent one year of his adult life at Naples, and he had slight associations with Rome, Florence, and Siena. Beyond this he was practically unknown. But here, too, his act of renunciation, which had, after all, taken place on Italian soil, awakened great interest and admiration. As early as 1308, Louis' *fama* was said to be great in Apulia.[1] In the second place, the Italian Franciscans of the extreme Zealot party fastened upon him as the type of Holy Poverty in their war with their laxer brethren. It was not every day that the heir to a powerful throne became a member of the First Order of S. Francis. Above all, Italy was the stronghold of Louis' family and of their interests, personal, political, and religious. To these sources was due the strong Italian cult of S. Louis during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It remains to be seen in what ways these different aspects manifested themselves. As regards the popular cult of S. Louis in Italy, the first thing that strikes us is the number of miracles recorded as happening there in the fourteenth century. We read of the saint resuscitating a child at Arezzo, delivering from prison a man of Civoctolo, near Perugia, and appearing to a Pisan sailor on the verge of shipwreck. Again, Louis preserves from death a certain Friar Forena of Siena as he falls while repairing the convent clock at Montepulciano.[2] But perhaps the favourite story was that of the Italian merchant, who, to lighten his boat in a storm, threw his money and goods overboard, was rescued from shipwreck by the saint, and discovered his money in the belly of a large fish. These miracles are certain evidence of popular devotion to Louis in Italy.[3]

Then in Italy we are fortunate in the possession of pictorial witness.[4] Setting aside the pictures and statues painted by direct

[1] *P.C.*, 87, 106, and 116. [2] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 622.

[3] There is a fresco by Bonfigli representing this miracle in the Palazzo Comunale, Perugia, painted in 1453. See Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 5. Bonfigli also executed frescoes dealing with scenes from the life of S. Louis, still to be seen at Perugia, which adopted him as one of its patron saints.

[4] The following account does not in any way pretend to give an exhaustive account of representations of S. Louis in Italian art. There are many other examples besides those which I have mentioned. See E. Gurney Salter, *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art,* 182 (1905).

order of the Angevin court or intimately connected with Franciscan devotion, there are plenty left that show S. Louis as a saint enshrined in the popular affections. This is especially striking throughout the fifteenth century. There are pictures of Louis by Fra Angelico at Florence and Perugia, by Vivarini at Venice, Ghirlandaio at Narni, and Lo Spagna at Trevi. He is portrayed by Lippo Lippi at Città di Castello, by Piero della Francesca at Arezzo, and by Pinturicchio at Spello. In 1496 Perugino painted him with the other patron saints of Perugia for the Palazzo Comunale in a picture now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. S. Louis was also a favourite subject with the Della Robbia family. His popularity as a subject with these masters can leave little doubt that he continued to inspire devotion throughout the length and breadth of Italy right up till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

We next come to the Franciscan cult of S. Louis of Toulouse in Italy.[1] This cult was due on the one hand, as has been already mentioned, to the eager exploitation of the *Fraticelli*, on the other to the close connection of the Angevin House with the extremist party in the Franciscan Order. Robert, Guelf champion though he was, risked papal displeasure in his support of these fanatics, and expended vast sums in building the great double convent of Santa Chiara at Naples for the accommodation of Minorites and Clares. He was buried, as is depicted in the figure on his great tomb by Giovanni and Pacio Bertini of Florence, in the church of this convent, in the habit of a Franciscan friar.[2] His second wife, Sanchia of Majorca, was, if possible, an even more ardent devotee of Holy Poverty. Her passionate desire, which she would often discuss with the King, although it was by no means complimentary to her husband, was to spend a pious widowhood in a Minoress convent. This wish was accomplished. On Robert's death in 1343, Sanchia entered her favourite foundation of Santa Chiara, and under the simple

[1] It is interesting to notice that a convent of Augustinian nuns was founded in honour of S. Louis at Venice in 1388.

[2] Even finer, to my thinking (judging by a photograph), is the unfinished recumbent figure in a friar's habit executed by the same sculptors for the King's provisional tomb. It is now in the convent of Sta. Chiara.

name of Sister Clare lived the rest of her days and died within its walls.

It was only natural, then, that the Italian Franciscans should make much of S. Louis of Toulouse. Bartholomew of Pisa, whose great work *De Conformitate Vitae B. P. Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* was finished before 1399, devotes considerable space in his first book to the life of our saint, and has evidently had access to the Process of Canonisation itself for this purpose.[1] Chapels in Louis' honour were dedicated in the convents of Aversa,[2] of Pistoia,[3] and of San Lorenzo at Naples. Stefano of Florence and later Pinturicchio painted him in the church of the Ara Coeli convent in Rome where he had been publicly declared a friar. The convent at Siena, which cherished the memory of the entertainment of S. Louis within its walls in 1297, employed Ambrogio Lorenzetti, about 1330, to paint a series of frescoes in the refectory, of which, unfortunately, only one remains. It represents S. Louis kneeling before Boniface VIII, probably in the act of being consecrated Bishop of Toulouse.[4] At Santa Croce at Florence, also, Louis' visit to the convent was somewhat similarly recorded by Giotto.[5] At Assisi, the Franciscan shrine *par excellence*, he receives pictorial honour only second to that of the founder of the Order himself. But in these two last instances the source of the cult was less Franciscan than Angevin,[6] and it is to this third and perhaps greatest cause of Italian devotion to S. Louis that we must now turn.

There were two reasons why the Angevin House of Naples

[1] Lib. I, conf. viii, pars. 2. See Introduction.

[2] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 627. Here the whole convent was placed under the patronage of S. Louis.

[3] Here frescoes representing scenes from his life were painted.

[4] P. B. Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

[5] P. B. Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

[6] In the same way the fresco in the refectory of the Franciscan convent at Teggiano, painted in 1471, has an Angevin significance about it. For here Louis is seen with another half-family saint, Elzéar de Sabran, governor to King Robert's son, Charles, Duke of Calabria. Again at Verona, Paolo Cavazzola has grouped round Our Lady all the saints of the House of Anjou, the two SS. Louis and Elzéar de Sabran. Other Franciscan "groups" which include Louis are to be seen at Perugia, painted by Taddeo Bartoli, in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, by Pinturicchio, and in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, by Vittorio Crivelli.

should show devotion to its own especial saint. The first was a simple one enough. Robert and Sanchia undoubtedly entertained a real veneration and affection for Louis' memory. They delighted to honour him in the kingdom of Naples as their tutelary saint and their chief link with the Franciscan Order. The second reason was more subtle and certainly less attractive, although undoubtedly worthy of the wisest king of his age. Robert found the cult of Louis a distinctly valuable political factor in Italy outside his own immediate dominions. As is well known, the King aspired to the headship of a powerful Italian Guelf league which should practically amount to the Neapolitan sovereignty of the Peninsula. Any means of increasing his prestige, therefore, and of forging a link between himself and his Guelf allies of Tuscany, must be used to the full, and Robert determined that it was the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse which should serve as such a link.

With regard to the glorification of S. Louis in the kingdom of Naples itself we have abundant evidence of every kind. It was not only the Franciscans who raised chapels in his honour. In January, 1326, we hear of John XXII conceding privileges to all persons visiting the chapel in the cathedral of Naples built in honour of S. Louis by his brother, Philip of Taranto.[1] Eight years later, the Pope granted similar indulgences to pilgrims to the chapel of S. Louis at Civitella erected by William of Brindisi,[2] and in 1324 he had also conceded a faculty to Marino of Diano to build a chapel in the parish church of Diano (diocese of Capaccio) in honour of the saint and to provide it with a perpetual chaplain.[3] Another chapel in honour of S. Louis was built in the cathedral of Bari.[4]

It was, however, in the sphere of art rather than of architecture that the princes of the House of Anjou strove chiefly to perpetuate the cult of their family saint. Native Neapolitan art in the fourteenth century was practically non-existent; such art as has survived of that period in Naples is all of foreign origin.[5]

[1] *B.F.*, V, No. 599, 296.
[2] *B.F.*, V, No. 1053, 564.
[3] *B.F.*, V, No. 523, 260.
[4] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 627.
[5] The whole subject has recently been treated by Aldo de Rinaldis in *Naples Angevine* (published in a French translation in *Les Trésors d'Art d'Italie*, and profusely illustrated with beautiful photographs).

Thus King Robert and his brothers were obliged to look elsewhere for their painters, and what more natural than that they should look to Tuscany, their Guelf ally and the home of the greatest artists whom Italy could then produce? The result of their choice is to be seen in the famous "renunciation" altar-piece formerly in San Lorenzo at Naples, now in the Naples Museum, painted by Simone Martini of Siena about the years 1317-1320.[1] Whether Martini ever came himself to Naples is doubtful, although some writers think that he may actually have done so [2]; but whether painted in Naples or Tuscany, the picture is certainly the work of Martini, and between the portrait and predella may be seen the inscription, *Symon de Senis me pinxit.*[3] In this interesting picture S. Louis is seen seated, wearing a mitre and episcopal vestments over the habit of a Franciscan friar. The cope in the picture appears to have been copied from that bequeathed by S. Louis to the Franciscan church at Brignoles, which is still exposed to view every 19th August.[4] On the right of the picture, at the feet of the saint who is offering him the crown, kneels a small figure habited in lay dress and intended for Robert of Naples himself. To complete the effect, two angels hold the celestial crown over Louis' head, as showing the happy exchange which he had made for the earthly one bestowed upon his brother. As the portrait of Robert gives carefully what are known to have been his most marked features, the presumption is that the portrait of S. Louis is also a real one.[5] It should be added that this picture, although its primary object was the glorification of the Angevin saint,[6] had also a political significance characteristic of Robert, namely, his justification to the Ghibellines of his right to the Neapolitan crown.

[1] See Frontispiece.

[2] Mrs. Robert Goff, *Assisi of S. Francis*, 219 and 273 (1908). Rinaldis, *op. cit.*, 92, 95, 99.

[3] See Rinaldis, *op. cit.*, 34, 37, 87, 88, for descriptions of the picture.

[4] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 630.

[5] Compare the portrait of Robert on the illuminated address from Prato, *c.* 1335-1340, in the British Museum. See (Sir) George F. Warner, *British Museum, Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series II, pl. xl. (6 E. ix, f. 10 b) (1910). The Martini portrait is reproduced (in detail) in Rinaldis, *op. cit.*, 17.

[6] The predella gives scenes from the life of S. Louis.

The "renunciation" altar-piece, of which there is a small "school" version in the Museum at Aix showing Queen Sanchia kneeling by her husband's side,[1] was originally intended for Robert's favourite foundation of Santa Chiara, and was only arbitrarily removed to San Lorenzo by Margaret, wife of Charles III of Naples, towards the close of the fourteenth century. For it was Santa Chiara which the Angevins purposed to make the especial Neapolitan shrine of S. Louis of Toulouse. The refectory of the convent was adorned with frescoes from his life, but these most unhappily have practically vanished. From their damaged remains, however, there can still be made out the figures of King Robert, his wife, Sanchia, his son, Charles of Calabria, and his eldest granddaughter, Joanna I. They kneel before Christ enthroned and surrounded by saints, among whom is S. Louis.[2] Again, we find S. Louis guarding his relations in death as in life. As Robert chose Santa Chiara for the burying-place of himself and his family, it is not surprising that S. Louis should appear on the King's tomb and on those of his son and daughter-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of Calabria, the work respectively of Giovanni and Pacio Bertini of Florence and of Tino da Camaino of Siena. Finally, it was at Santa Chiara that Robert deposited his brother's brain when it was removed from his tomb at Marseilles on the occasion of the great translation ceremony of 1319. This precious gift was enclosed in a splendid reliquary [3] in the form of a bust, set off by one of Queen Sanchia's own crowns. There were no lengths to which the almost morbid devotion of this lady for her young unknown brother-in-law would not go. It is sad to have to relate that the reckless extravagance of Joanna I consigned this magnificent reliquary in 1348 to the keeping of three Genoese galley captains.[4]

[1] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 632. [2] Reproduced in Rinaldis, *op. cit.*, 101.

[3] "Quod dictus dominus rex Robertus reverenter accipiens et secum Neapolim deferens, in quadam ymagine de argento et auro, quam ad honorem eius fecit opere mirifico fabricari et cum gemmis et lapidibus preciosis ornari, illud honorifice collocavit." *A.F.*, VII, 262, *In Translacione S. Ludovici*, etc.

[4] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 628. The subsequent history of this reliquary is curious. Whether the Queen was later in a position to reclaim her gage, and, unwilling to trust it again to the Poor Clares, who appear to have used its contents for medicinal purposes, dispatched it for safety to Provence, or whether it was taken thither by some other means, it certainly was in the County in 1351.

Another royal Angevin foundation, which was destined to perpetuate the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse, was the convent and church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, founded by the saint's mother, Mary of Hungary, the Queen-Dowager of Sicily. To this convent the Queen bequeathed a gold statuette of her son, and he appears twice again within the buildings, on her tomb, in the place of honour among the figures of her fourteen children, and again, with S. Louis of France, in a picture representing the Last Judgment. Nor did the family cult die away with Louis' immediate relations. In 1352, his great-niece, Joanna I, erected the Church of the Incoronata at Naples to commemorate her coronation and marriage with her cousin, Louis of Taranto, and by her orders the dome was covered with frescoes in the Tuscan style representing scenes from the life of S. Louis of Toulouse. In one of these the consecration of the saint as bishop by Boniface VIII is portrayed, and the figures of Robert and Joanna are both introduced among the crowd of assistants at the ceremony.

It may seem that the Angevins, while thus generously endowing their favourite foundations with mementoes of their saint, kept nothing for themselves. There was, however, one exception to this general practice. At the translation of Louis' body in 1319 a large portion of one of his arms had been removed as well as his brain. This arm relic King Robert retained for his private chapel at Castel Nuovo, and in 1338 we find him ordering a splendid reliquary for its accommodation.[1] This reliquary, after a chequered history, found its way from the Spitzer Collection to the Louvre in 1892 and may still be seen there, a magnificent example of fourteenth-century Neapolitan gold-work.[2]

The devout family cult of S. Louis maintained by the House of Anjou did not cease with the death of Joanna II in 1435. Their

For to what else could the following mysterious entry in the Archives Départmentales des Bouches-du-Rhône refer ?

" Item pro libris sex cere albe in duabus parvis entorchiis combustis coram capite sancti Ludovici, provincialium solidos decem octo.

" Item pro portu dicti capitis sancti Ludovici de Draguigniano usque Brinonium ac ex expensis associantium eumdem, provincialium libras octo."

See F. Mireur, *Les Anciens Couvents de Draguignan*, etc., 257-258.

[1] Verlaque, *op. cit.*, 178, quoting *Reg. Ang.* 1338, X, n. 314, f. 69.

[2] Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

Aragonese successors, who had in some measure, as we shall see, inherited the cult themselves in Catalonia, evidently held his memory in high respect. This is attested by the number of pictures representing S. Louis in the Naples Museum which belong to the end of the fifteenth century, and by the numerous manuscripts of his life, belonging to the same period, to be found in Roman and Neapolitan libraries. The British Museum manuscript of the John of Orta Life, indeed, expressly states on the first page that it formed part of the library of Alfonso (V) of Aragon and (I) of Sicily.

We must now leave the personal aspect of the Angevin cult of S. Louis and turn to a brief examination of its political significance. As has been said, it was the desire of Robert of Naples to establish some definite link between his own House and his Tuscan allies. In an age of symbols, the presence of the Angevin lilies on the walls of Tuscan churches impressed on men's minds the fact that the King of Naples was the powerful protector of Florence, while the cult of S. Louis expressed by the pictures which the lilies adorned was, as it were, a recognition that the Neapolitan saints should be those of the Florentines also.

The casual visitor to the church of Santa Croce in Florence may well imagine that the frescoes of the two SS. Louis, in the Bardi Chapel, and that of S. Louis the younger serving meals to the poor, in the refectory, are due to the King's devotion to the Franciscan Order and the Bishop's visit to the convent in 1297. Far more important, however, than either of these circumstances was the fact that, as Berteaux has pointed out,[1] Ridolfo Bardi, head of the great banking firm which, together with those of the Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli, ordered the finances of the kingdom of Naples like those of the Papacy, was a favoured agent of King Robert. In order to flatter the susceptibilities of his illustrious client and aid in the work of drawing closer the bonds which united the northern republic with the southern *regno*, Bardi employed Giotto to adorn his family chapel with pictures of the two SS. Louis. In the same way, the bronze statue of S. Louis of Toulouse, which now stands forlorn and neglected in the summer refectory of Santa Croce, is full of hidden

[1] *Op. cit.*, 636.

political meaning.[1] It was designed by Donatello in the early years of the fifteenth century for the *Parte Guelfa's* niche in Or San Michele, for Louis had been adopted by that powerful political club, a hundred years earlier, as its patron saint. It was a curious fate that linked the name of the innocent Louis with that Machiavellian *Parte*, but how clearly is the hand of the astute Robert to be discerned in this, as in nearly all other connections of his brother with Florence! It must be confessed that the cult of S. Louis in this city was not the charming, disinterested devotion, excited by his great act of renunciation, which he deserved. In Florence Louis has clearly been dragged down to the degrading position of a Guelf saint.

The representation of S. Louis of Toulouse in frescoes and windows of the Lower Church at Assisi may seem at first sight to be accounted for simply by the fact that in the chief shrine of Franciscanism it is natural to find one of the greatest saints of the Order occupying an honourable place. To a certain extent, indeed, this is true. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that out of the five representations of Louis in the Lower Church, three are due less to Minorite zeal than to political compliment.

The chapels in which S. Louis thus appears are those of S. Stephen, formerly called S. Louis' chapel,[2] and S. Martin of Tours. Both these chapels were founded by Cardinal Gentile Partino da Montefiore, who died in 1312, before their completion. His heirs, however, carried out the decoration of the chapels in a manner which would have accorded with his wishes. This Cardinal Gentile Partino was closely connected with the House of Anjou, as he had been employed by Clement V on an embassy to Buda in connection with the affairs of young Carobert of Hungary, nephew of Robert of Naples and Louis of Toulouse. In compliment to the family, he dedicated one of his chapels at Assisi to S. Louis the King, the walls of which are said once to have been covered with frescoes representing scenes from the life of S. Louis the Bishop. These have now totally disappeared, but there still remains a window filled with glass belonging to the latter half of the fourteenth century, in which

[1] Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

[2] It was dedicated to S. Louis, King of France.

S. Louis of Toulouse is twice shown. In the upper light he is depicted as a youthful bishop in a rose-coloured cope and mitre, with an angel holding a crown above his head. Below, Louis appears as a graceful young squire with long curls, clad in a scarlet dress. This is the only extant representation of him in lay attire. Opposite to the light showing him as a bishop is a kneeling figure habited in a brown robe with a black hooded mantle. Over his head another angel holds a cardinal's hat. This is the portrait of the founder of the chapel, and beneath him, in the light corresponding to that depicting S. Louis of Toulouse in lay attire, we have a representation of the great S. Louis, King of France.

The other chapel, dedicated by Gentile to S. Martin of Tours in honour of the patron saint of his cardinalate, is decorated with frescoes executed by Simone Martini of Siena between the years 1322 and 1326. S. Louis of Toulouse appears here with his great-uncle and namesake in a double fresco on the arched entrance to the chapel. He is attired in a plain Franciscan habit without any episcopal vestments, but a distinguishing feature is the background of Angevin lilies, a token to Umbria, as well as to Tuscany, of the power which lay behind the device.

The two other frescoes of S. Louis of Toulouse in San Francesco are to be found in the south transept and S. Catherine's chapel respectively, and are undoubtedly a Franciscan tribute, pure and simple. Both are by Simone Martini, and it is interesting to reflect on the close association maintained by the great Tuscan painter with the saint of his Neapolitan benefactors.[1]

Having thus briefly traced the origin and history of the Italian cult of S. Louis of Toulouse, the causes of its disappearance remain to be discussed. In spite of the arguments of P. B. Kleinschmidt, who tries to prove from three or four pictures,[2] that the Italian cult of S. Louis was maintained in the sixteenth century, Berteaux appears to be in the right when he says that it faded away at the end of the fifteenth century. It could hardly have

[1] Kleinschmidt says that there is a fresco of Louis belonging to the school of Giotto in a room of the convent now used as the "Palæstra." *Op. cit.*, 209, n. 2.

[2] There are pictures of S. Louis by Veronese († 1553) at Vienna, Beccazzi († 1562) and Tintoretto († 1594) at Venice, and Carracci († 1609) at Bologna.

been otherwise. There was, in fact, a definite reason why every aspect of the cult should lose its potency about the year 1500.

The popular cult of S. Louis died a natural death because it failed to withstand the shock of the Renaissance. Characters and stories such as his did not appeal to the Renaissance spirit. Traits and actions, which even to men of the age of bastard chivalry and the " cash nexus " had appeared worthy of admiration and respect, were treated by the disciples of the Humanistic teaching as subjects merely for contempt and derision. It was not renunciation but acquisition which the Renaissance world admired, and any one foolish enough to give up a splendid earthly inheritance in exchange for a friar's habit must have been a fool and a dotard. Thus S. Louis lives no longer in art after the close of the fifteenth century ; painters found other subjects for their brush more congenial than that of a fanatical youth, and to call upon him for miraculous aid fell out of fashion.

In the same way the Italian Franciscans allowed the cult of S. Louis to fall into neglect. After the final split between the Conventual and Zealot parties and the definite division of the Order into " Conventuals " of the black habit and " Observants " of the brown, there was little cause for remembering him. On the one hand, it was not likely that the " Conventuals," with their greater indulgences and laxer discipline, would be over-eager to cherish the memory of one who was to them a standing reproach for their easy ways. On the other, the " Observants " were so completely taken up with the cult of S. Bernardino of Siena, that the Bishop of Toulouse was quite thrown into the shade. So brief a thing is fame.

Finally, the family cult, personal and political, of S. Louis of Toulouse ceased with the acquisition of Naples by the kings of a united Spain. The name of Louis of Toulouse had meant a good deal to Alfonso and Ferrante ; it spelled less than nothing to Charles V and Philip II.

It is a strange fact that, while it is by the name of a French town that S. Louis is known, the indications of his cult in France are comparatively meagre. This neglect is probably due to his slight associations with that country, confined as they are to one fleeting visit to Paris and six short weeks' episcopate of Toulouse,

and still more to the predominant place filled in French hearts by his great-uncle, the King. In France the Bishop had to play very much the part of S. Louis the Less.

In the fourteenth century, nevertheless, a few chapels were placed under his patronage in different parts of France. In July, 1323, John XXII granted indulgences to all persons visiting the chapel in honour of S. Louis of Toulouse erected by Galhard, Archbishop of Arles, in the church of Villeneuve within the diocese of Rodez.[1] Five years later, in January, 1328, the same Pope conceded to Robert of Pontiac all patronal rights in the chapel of S. Louis built by his father in the church of Blessed Mary of Pontiac, within the diocese of Meaux.[2] The following year, indulgences to all pilgrims to the chapel were duly granted.[3] Even as late as 1396 some memory of S. Louis still lingered about Toulouse. In that year the anti-pope, Benedict XIII, writes to make inquiries about a certain silver lamp deposited by Agnes of Navarre, Countess of Foix, with the Franciscans of Pamiers until she should be able to forward it to its proper destination—Toulouse, in all probability.[4]

France is extraordinarily poor in pictorial or sculptural representations of her lesser S. Louis. We know that a picture, afterwards belonging to the Abbey of Bourgfontaine on the Aisne, was executed for Philip VI, but this has long since disappeared.[5] In the famous Book of Hours executed for Queen Jane of Navarre *c.* 1330, which has passed through the collections of Lord Ashburnham and of Mr. H. Yates Thompson, the commemoration of S. Louis the Bishop is embellished by an illumination representing him serving food to four poor men. Below are little scenes which show him appearing to Queen Jane and rescuing five children from drowning.[6] To the fifteenth century belong a small statuette and two bas-reliefs preserved at Toulouse, together with a vanished piece of tapestry ex-

[1] *B.F.*, V, No. 504, 251.
[2] *B.F.*, V, No. 696, 337.
[3] *B.F.*, V, No. 764, 373.
[4] *B.F.*, VII, No. 915, 308.
[5] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 618.
[6] A. Longnon, *Documents parisiens sur l'iconographie de Saint Louis* [the King], 50-51 (1882), and *Thirty-Two Miniatures from the Book of Hours of Joan II, Queen of Navarre*, edited by H. Yates Thompson for the Roxburghe Club, Plate xxxii (1899).

ecuted for Louis d'Orléans, and once the property of the treasury of Chartres.[1] That is the sum total of mediæval French art with regard to representations of S. Louis of Toulouse.

Nor is the tale of miracles performed at his intercession during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries any greater. It is, indeed (with the exception of the few recorded in the Process), limited to one single, although notable, instance. King John the Good of France (grandson of Jane of Navarre) fell seriously ill when he was a youth and was given over by the physicians, whereupon his father, Philip VI, besought S. Louis for his recovery. The King's prayer was granted, his son recovered, and the grateful father paid a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb at Marseilles in company with the Kings of Navarre and Majorca and Friar Geraldus, Minister-General of the Franciscan Order from 1329 to 1342.[2]

Thus, although Louis of Anjou has come down to us as S. Louis of Toulouse, the slight impression which he made upon his diocese has caused his name to be less connected, perhaps, than that of any other saint with the place and country from which he takes his title.

If, however, the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse was never strong in France, it had for two reasons a certain amount of popularity in Aragon.[3] In the first place, Louis had spent seven of the most important years of his short life at Cuirana and Barcelona, and his memory was endeared to the people by various deeds of charity and devotion.[4] It would also be remembered that one of his last acts was to visit his sister and brother-in-law in Catalonia, and that it was while there that he probably took the resolve to resign his bishopric, a resolve at once to be admired for its motives and deplored for its fatal results. Secondly, as we have seen, the cult of S. Louis was essentially a family cult ; it was strongest in places like Provence and Naples which, under the rule of the

[1] Berteaux, *op. cit.*, 618.

[2] *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum,* in *Analecta Franciscana,* III (*Miracula Sancti Ludovici,* 447-452).

[3] The existence of his *fama* in Catalonia is recorded in the Process.

[4] Especially famous was the story of Louis attending to a wretched beggar in the Pyrenees during his journey from Toulouse to Catalonia in the summer of 1297. See *Vita Sancti Ludovici,* c. 43, in *A.B.*, IX, 313-314.

House of Anjou, naturally tended to make much of their tutelary saint. Now the marriage of Blanche of Anjou with James II of Aragon had the effect of transporting this family cult to Spain. Blanche proved not only an apt pupil of her mother, Mary of Hungary, and of the mystic doctor, Arnold of Villanova: she must also have been a woman of some force of character, for she succeeded in making her husband and children adopt her brother, Louis, as an Aragonese family saint. So strong was the devotion which Blanche inspired in her children for their uncle, that one of the daughters carried his cult to Vienna and the youngest son, Peter, finally entered the Franciscan Order.

This Peter of Aragon, when he was already well advanced into middle age, felt in his heart the call of Holy Poverty. While wavering in his purpose, he was vouchsafed a vision of his uncle, S. Louis, which confirmed him in his resolve to become a friar.[1] This was about the year 1358. In 1366 we hear of him acting in a very high-handed fashion. It appears that he had been on a visit to the papal court at Avignon, and on his return journey to Catalonia was commissioned by the Pope to deposit some arm-bone relics of S. Louis at Montpellier. To the great indignation of the people of that city, Peter proceeded to carry them off to his own country, and Urban V had to write him a letter of remonstrance, pointing out that, although the friar-prince had doubtless acted with a view to increasing Catalan devotion to S. Louis, yet the relics must instantly be restored. The upshot of this incident is not known.[2]

The Franciscans of Catalonia were naturally disposed to perpetuate the memory of S. Louis, and in 1327 we find John XXII conceding indulgences to all those visiting the chapel in his honour built by the Minorites of Barcelona.[3]

Curiously enough no fourteenth-century Aragonese miracles have come down to us, but it would seem that the fame of S. Louis spread from Aragon to Castile and Portugal, for we have the tale of how the saint quelled the locusts at Villapanda near Zamora and restored to life the King of Portugal's favourite falcon.[4]

[1] *Chron. Gen. Minist. Ord. Frat. Min., loc. cit.*
[2] *B.F.*, VI, No. 968, 398-399. [3] *B.F.*, V, No. 672, 328.
[4] *Chron. Gen. Minist. Ord. Frat. Min., loc. cit.* Louis even went further

The translation of S. Louis' relics to Valencia, in 1423, must naturally have intensified Aragonese devotion to his memory. But this devotion was very short-lived. Unluckily for S. Louis he speedily became overshadowed in Valencia, and hence to a large extent everywhere else, by the appearance of two native Valencian saints. The first of these was S. Vincent Ferrer, who died in 1419 and was canonised in 1455, only thirty years after poor Louis' quite involuntary transference to Aragonese soil. A chapel and shrine were immediately raised to Vincent in the cathedral, and the light of the foreign saint, which had so short a time before dazzled the eyes of Valencia, became totally eclipsed by that of the native luminary.[1] In the sixteenth century, not only another saint, but another S. Louis, finally usurped the place once filled by Alfonso's captive, and to-day it is S. Louis Beltran whose statue occupies an honoured niche on the tower of the cathedral, and it is not S. Louis of Toulouse who is remembered in Valencia. His shrine still remains, it is true, but that, and what is described as an indifferent painting by Espinosa in the Art Gallery, are poor compensations for the rape of S. Louis from his honoured home at Marseilles.

Although the cult of S. Louis only endured for about two hundred years, so great was his fame in the Franciscan Order for a time that it spread even to Germany. As has been mentioned, Elizabeth of Aragon introduced it into Vienna (on her marriage with Frederick, Duke of Austria), and in 1327 John XXII granted indulgences to those visiting the chapel which his niece had erected to the memory of her uncle, S. Louis, in that city.[2] There are various evidences of the cult of S. Louis in

and appears to have saved the life of the King of Portugal himself. The saint's solicitude is, perhaps, explained by the fact that Denis of Portugal was a connection of his, the King having married Elizabeth of Aragon, sister of Louis' brother-in-law, James II. *AA.SS.*, August, III, 797.

[1] Nevertheless, when Charles VIII demanded of Ferdinand of Aragon that he should return Louis' body to Marseilles in exchange for the counties of Cerdagne and Roussillon, as stipulated by Louis XI, Ferdinand absolutely refused to comply with the request. Thus Louis was only just saved from yet a third translation. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, III, Bk. 13, c. 22.

[2] *B.F.*, V, No. 688, 334. There was also a chapel to S. Louis in Transylvania, erected at a place called Lippa, near the Hungarian frontier, by Carobert of Hungary, Louis' nephew, in 1327. *AA.SS.*, August, III, 800.

Germany to be gathered from the dedication of chapels and altars to him. Already in 1318 the Franciscan church of Bonn had introduced his cult, which was still strong in Germany in the fifteenth century. The Minorite church at Cologne had an altar dedicated to S. Louis, and in 1459 we hear of Johannes Bonnenberg and Margaretha, his wife, founding a daily Mass to be said at it. In 1481 an altar in the chapter-house belonging to the Franciscan convent at Düren was consecrated in his honour, and at the convent of Marburg may still be seen a representation of S. Louis in a window of fifteenth-century glass.[1]

Perhaps a still greater proof of the high esteem in which the memory of S. Louis of Toulouse was held in Germany is to be found in the fact that a Life of him was translated into the vernacular.[2] This translation was made in the fifteenth century and, according to the inscription on the manuscript, by a certain Sister Barbara, a Bavarian Minoress, who tells us that she carried out the task from devotion to S. Louis, on whose day she had entered the Order of S. Clare. This translation is doubly interesting as the work of a Bavarian and a woman, for women translators are an uncommon phenomenon in the Middle Ages.

With this singular proof of devotion, from one who was a native of a country in no way connected with the saint, we may close this account of the cult of S. Louis of Toulouse. Intense as was the admiration which Louis' story for a time excited, the interest in him, as I have shown, was not sustained. Yet he is not quite forgotten. The sex-centenary of his death was celebrated in 1897, and I have recently been told that in California many churches are dedicated to him.

[1] P. B. Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, 209.

[2] V. Zeidler, *Die Legenden des H. Ludwig von Toulouse*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXII, fasc. 2, 235-241. The original has not been identified.

APPENDIX A.

Celestine V and Louis' Reception of the First Tonsure and Four Minor Orders.

I.

Anno 1294 *die 7 Octobr.*

Ei committit administrationem Lugdunensis Archiepiscopatus a vicinorum potentia dilacerati.

ex Vat. Reg. epist. 13.

" Caelestinus, etc.

Dilecto filio Ludoviconato charissimi in Christo filii Caroli Siciliae Regis illustris Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Attendentes claritatem excellentis generis, eminentiam luminosae scientiae, venustatem morum, et multiplicia dona virtutum, quibus clarere dignosceris, depressum quoque ac laceratum statum Majoris Ecclesiae Lugdunensis, quae per vicinorum potentum injurias et pressuras gravem diminutionem suorum jurium et facultatum amaris fletibus ingemiscit, quodque per tui tuorumque favoris auxilium Ecclesia ipsa concedente Domino reparabit praetacta diminutionis incommoda, et votiva recipiet restitutionis augmenta, etc. Datum in Monasterio S. Spiritus prope Sulmonem Nonis Octobris Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo."

II.

Anno 1294 *die* 9 *Octobr.*

Optanti Ordinibus minoribus initiari procurationem Lugdunensis Archiepiscopatus confert.

ex Vat. Reg. epist. 12.

" Caelestinus, etc.

Dilecto filio Ludovico, etc.

Cum desideres in Clericali habitu Domino famulari, nuper ad tuae supplicationis instantiam dilecto filio Fratri Francisco de Apta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, quod tibi, qui apud hostes Ecclesiae detineris ut obses, primam tonsuram et omnes minores Ordines conferre valeat, per alias litteras nostras concessimus

facultatem. Ea propter licet ob locorum distantiam, quae separaris a nobis, brevitatem temporis quo praedicta concessimus, adhuc nequieris Ordines praedictos assumere, tamen, quia inesse videntur quodammodo, quae fieri sperantur in brevi, tuum honestum et salubre propositum gratiosius prosequentes procurationem Lugdunensis Ecclesiae vacantis tunc per promotionem Venerabilis Fratris Nostri Remundi,[1] Episcopi Albanensis nuper ad apicem Cardinalatus assumpti, olim ipsius Ecclesiae Archiepiscopi (quamquam Tonsuram et Ordines ipsos nondum receperis) ac administrationem ipsius in spiritualibus et in temporalibus tibi fiducialiter duximus committendum, et recipere et habere valeas iuxta formam aliarum litterarum nostrarum tibi proinde concessarum, auctoritate praesentium de certa scientia et speciali gratia indulgemus. Datum Sulmone VII Idus Octobris Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo." [2]

Verlaque's opinion of the Bulls, referred to on p. 81, runs as follows (translated):—

> " Several historians, relying on a Bull of Pope Celestine V, dated 9th October, 1294, and addressed to Friar Francis of Apt, governor of the young Louis, declare that this prince received the tonsure and the minor orders during his captivity, from the hands of this religious, whom the sovereign pontiff had deputed for this purpose ; and that this same Pope nominated him to the archbishopric of Lyons . . . and finally, that Boniface VIII annulled this nomination . . ." "In spite of our researches," Verlaque continues, " we have not been able to find the original of this Bull . . . We believe, indeed, that this document must be regarded as apocryphal."
>
> (*Vie de Saint Louis*, 74, n. 2.)

Finally, Verlaque declares that the fact that John of Orta passes by these events in silence is strong proof of their lack of authenticity.

This conclusion of Verlaque, however, is open to a double attack. In the first place, he is not strictly accurate, rolling the two Bulls into one, and further speaking as if this one were addressed to Friar Francis le Brun, instead of, as is the case, to Louis himself. Secondly, although John of Orta certainly does not mention the reception of the first tonsure and four minor orders by Louis from the hands of Friar Francis, Verlaque was, as we have already mentioned, unaware that we have, in the testimony of this same friar, given in the Process of Canonisation, a very full account of the ceremony and Celestine's permission for its performance.

[1] Beraldi.

[2] Printed in Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 23, 152, and *B.F.*, IV, 332.

APPENDIX B.

Will of S. Louis of Toulouse.

In nomine Domini. Amen. Anno nativitatis ejusdem millesimo ducentisimo nonagesimo septimo, Indictione decima, regnante inclyto principe Carolo secundo, Dei gratia Jerusalem & Siciliae rege illustri Ducatûs Apuliae & principatûs Capuae, Provinciae & Forcalquerii Comite, regnorum ejus anno decimo tertio, feliciter. Amen.

Mense Augusti die nono decimo ejusdem decimae Indictionis, apud Brinoniam in praesentia Thomae de Sancto Georgio, ubique per regnum Siciliae & per Comitatus Provinciae & Forcalquerii publici regia auctoritate notarii, & testium subscriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum & rogatorum; videlicet venerabilis viri Durandi Mauritii Prioris Conventualis Caerasii [*sic*],[1] Fratribus [*sic*] Bercarandi Prioris sancti Genit,[2] Fratrum Guillelmi de Corneliano, Francisci Brun, Petri Scarrerii, Bartholomei Vitalis[3] Ordinis Minorum, et magistri Hugonis Fabri physici,[4] ego Frater Lodoycus, permissione divina episcopus Tolosanus, memor conditionis humanae, quam semper comitatur innata fragilitas, cui ab ipso vitae principio mortis imperium

[1] Miss Rose Graham suggests to me that this may be Céreste (Cederesta, Caesarista, Catuica) in the diocese of Apt, where there was a priory dependent on the monastery of S. Victor, Marseilles.

[2] Miss Graham suggests that this is Saint-Genis (S. Genesius) in the diocese of Gap, where there was a priory dependent on the abbey of Mont Majeur.

[3] Is this the same as Fr. Vitalis e Furno, sometime Minister-Provincial of Aquitaine, and subsequently Cardinal Bishop of Albano (died 1327)? He is mentioned as having met Louis at Montpellier when the latter returned from Catalonia in 1295. *P.C.*, 118. See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXVI, 295-305 (1927).

[4] Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône . . . B. 262. Cour des Comptes de Provence, 1293-1300. Ordonnances des rois de Sicile. Lettres patentes de Charles II—exemptant de toute imposition Hugues Fabri, chanoine, son médicin ordinaire.

dominatur ; dum essem aeger corpore, sanus tamen mente, ac composita loquela, directa discretio & sana memoria in me integriter vigerent, volens peregrinationis meae diem extremam dispositione testamentaria praevenire, auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae in hac parte mihi concessa, de bonis meis, sive ad meam administrationem spectantibus, in hunc modum ordino & dispono.

In primis in domo Fratrum Minorum Massiliae meam eligo sepulturam. Deinde de bonis meis, et primum quidem de capellis, quas habebam tempore quo professus sum beati Francisci regulam & habitum ejus assumpsi, ordino in hunc modum ; quod scilicet capellae ipsae, & ea, quae ad easdem capellas pertinent, sint Conventuum Fratrum Minorum Tolosae, Massiliae & Aquarum, prout viri Religiosi Fratres Raymundus Goffridi, magister in theologia & minister in Provincia, & Guardianus Tolosae ordinaverint, & eas inter eosdem Conventus duxerint dividendas. De libris nostris lego Religioso viro Fratri Guilhelmo de Corneliano, socio & familiari meo, Bibliam in uno volumine, quam praefatus dominus rex, dominus et genitor meus, dedit mihi, & etiam Summam Thomae. Item Fratri Berengario de Bosco [1] familiari meo Bibliam, quam dedit mihi Conventus Tolosae. Item Fratri Petro Cocardi, familiari meo, Bibliam et Flores Sanctorum pulchriores, qui fuerunt praedecessoris mei. Omnes autem alios libros meos lego Fratribus Petro Scarrerii, & Francisco Bruni, sociis & familiaribus meis, inter ipsos aequaliter dividendos, propter plura grata servitia, quae ab ipsis longo tempore recolo suscepisse.

Capellas, siquidem, quas habui prius quam professionem feci, lego ecclesiae Tolosanae : anulos quoque meos omnes lego & relinquo praedicto domino regi ac dominae reginae, parentibus meis, in hunc videlicet modum, quod retentis ex eis per eumdem dominum regem illis, quos voluerit, reliqui sint praedictae dominae matris meae. De aliis autem omnibus bonis meis, utpote vasis argenteis, equitaturis, & quibuslibet aliis, ac etiam iis, quae debentur mihi ex quacumque causa, solutis inde debitis, ad quae quibuscumque personis teneri [possim] ac emendae, si quae apparuerint faciendae, volo quod infra nominati executores mei familiares & servitores meos remunerent, prout attentis eorum conditionibus & impensis per eosdem mihi servitiis viderint faciendum : & residium ipsorum omnium distribuant inter Conventus Religiosorum civitatis Tolosae & Conventus Frat-

[1] Is *Berengarius* a mistake for *Petrus ?* A Petrus de Boscho (or Bosco), O.M., was excommunicated for leaving the Franciscan Order, but received absolution on being allowed to join the Benedictines in 1308. See *B.F.*, V, No. 113, 51.

rum Minorum Massiliae & Aquarum, ac Conventus Fratrum Praedicatorum sancti Maximi, & Conventus Sanctae Clarae Assisii, ad construendam unam capellam ad servitium domus episcopalis Tolosae, in honorem beati Laurentii martyris, prout eis videbitur faciendum. Item volo, quod Officiarium & Responsorarium, quae dedit mihi Conventus Draguiniani, reddantur illi. Item lego Conventui Brinoniae indumentum unum sacerdotale completum de meis communibus, quibus familiares mei uti sunt consueti.

Executores autem hujus meae ordinationis facio & ordino reverendos in Christo patres dominos archiepiscopum Arelatensem & episcopum Carcassonensem, dominum episcopum & G. abbatem Massilienses, & Religiosum virum praefatum Fratrem Raymundum Goffridi, ac virum venerabilem magistrum Petrum de Feneriis, decanum Aniciensem, regni Siciliae cancellarium, & nobilem virum dominum Hugonem de Vicinis, Provinciae & Forcalquerii senescallum; ita scilicet quod omnes simul vel quicumque ipsorum cum praedicto Fratre Raymundo ordinandum & faciendum duxerit, in praemissis & quolibet praemissorum, roboris firmitatem habeat; dans eis omnibus executoribus, & eidem Fratri Raymundo cum quocumque alio ex ipsis, plenariam potestatem bona & credita mea recipiendi, ubicumque fuerint & a quibuscumque mihi debeantur; ac petendi, & exigendi ea tam in judicio quam extra judicium; & omnia alia circa haec faciendi, quae ego ipse facere possem, ei praesens adessem. Et hanc meam ordinationem valere volo jure testamenti, vel jure codicillorum, vel donationis causa mortis inter vivos, vel alterius cujuslibet ultimae voluntatis, secundum quod melius de jure valere potest; rogans suppliciter praefatum dominum & genitorem meum, ut circa efficacem & celerem executionem ordinationis ejusdem dignetur & velit praedictis executoribus meis, ac dicto Fratri Raymundo, & alii ex eis, quem cum ipso ad executionem eamdem vocare contigerit, assistere & favere, ac opportunum consilium, protectionem & auxilium impartiri.

In quorum omnium praemissorum fidem & cautelam, factum est per manus mei praedicti notarii praesens publicum instrumentum, quod scripsi ego idem notarius, qui praedictis omnibus interfui, & meo solito signo signavi rogatus. Quae ordinata et acta per praedictum dominum Episcopum supra continentur, de praefato scilicet episcopo Carcassonensi, quod sit unus dictorum executorum ejus, et de anulis suis legatis et relictis praedictis domino regi ac dominae reginae, ut dictum est, ordinata et acta sunt praedicto nono decimo die dicti mensis Augusti. Caetera vero praemissa, prout superius exprimuntur,

ordinata et acta sunt per eumdem praedicto die nono decimo mensis ejusdem. Ita testamentum.[1]

Louis has been credited with other writings besides his will. Sbaralea, in his Supplement to Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, p. 498, states that Louis was the author of various sermons which he delivered in different places on several occasions. Louis' preaching is frequently mentioned in the Process of Canonisation, but I do not know whether any of his sermons have survived.

Again, P. D. Ambrogio Abbate Amelli, O.S.B., in *Di Uno Scritto Inedito di S. Ludovico Vescovo di Tolosa intorno alla Musica*, published in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II, 378-383 (1909), attributes to Louis a little work on music entitled *Sententia in musica sonora*. The author of this work is, in reality, Ludovicus Sanctus (Lodewyck Heyliger), a Flemish musician from Beeringhen, who was master of the music to Cardinal John Colonna at Avignon, and a friend of Petrarch. H. Cochin has proved the work to be by Ludovicus Sanctus in his article *Sur le Socrate de Pétrarque. Le Musicien Flamand Ludovicus Sanctus de Beeringhen*, published in *Mélanges d' Archéologie et d'histoire*, XXXVII, 3-32 (1918-1919). The reference to this article was kindly given to me by Fr. F. Callaey, O.F.C.

Since Louis is not the author of the *Sententia*, it is not at all probable that he wrote another work on music entitled *Liber de musica commendatione*, which Amelli considers to be by the same hand.

[1] *AA.SS.*, August, III, 787, taken from Antonius, Pagius, *Divi Antonii Paduani, Ordinis Minorum, Sermones hactenus inediti, de Sanctis et de diversis*, etc., 485 (1684).

APPENDIX C.

I Canonisation of S. David of Wales.

The following works of reference state as a fact that S. David (died *c.* 601) was canonised by Calixtus II in 1120 :—

(i) Article by Henry Bradley in the *D.N.B.*
(ii) Article by Leslie A. St. L. Stoke in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*
(iii) *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, 201 (1836), makes the same statement.

Baring Gould and Fisher in *Lives of the British Saints*, II, 310 (1908), make the following modified statement :—

> "Dewi is still the one purely Welsh saint that has been formally enrolled in the calendars of the Western Church. There is no record of the time when, or the occasion on which, his canonisation took place, but it has been supposed that it was in the time of Calixtus II, 1119-24."

The reader is then referred to Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, I, 316 (note a). Here we read :—

> "Godwin is the earliest traceable authority for the formal canonisation of S. David, probably at this time, and if by Calixtus II (as Godwin says) then certainly 1119 × 1124. But it is strange if he was really canonised in form that no Bull, and not even an allusion to the subject, should occur in the S. David's statutes."

Having read the above passage it is rather disconcerting, on turning to Appendix E, 161, of the same work, to find :—

> "No purely Welsh or Cornish saint of this (the great) period of Western hagiology found admittance into the ancient Martyrologies or Calendars of the Western Church until S. David's canonisation in 1120 ; who is still the one Welsh saint formally enrolled in the Western calendars."

Here David's formal canonisation is accepted as a fact. But as will now be shown there is no evidence to bear out the statement.

The Godwin to whom Haddan and Stubbs refer as the earliest traceable authority for the act was Francis Godwin (1562-1633),

Bishop of Llandaff and Hereford, who, in 1601, compiled a *Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (second edition, 1615). On p. 504 of this second edition we read: "Saint David. . . . He was buried in his owne Cathedrall Church & some 5 hundred yeares after Canonized a Saint by Pope Calixtus the second." Godwin, who as a seventeenth-century writer is of no authority *per se*, does not give any source for this categorical statement. It is quite improbable that he had any, for the following reasons:—

(i) There is no Bull or letter mentioning the canonisation among the *Epistolae et Diplomata* of Calixtus II, printed by Migne, in the *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 163.
(ii) There is no Bull extant among the Statutes of S. David's.

It would seem that Godwin based his assertion on one or two likely circumstances. Firstly, it is commonly supposed that David was adopted as the Welsh patron saint some time during the twelfth century. Secondly, the pontificate of Calixtus II covered very critical years in the vain struggle of the Welsh Church to retain her independence of England. Lastly, the most important life of David was written during the early years of the twelfth century by Rhygfarch, the last Welsh occupant but one of the see of S. David's before it became subject to Canterbury. Godwin, probably putting all these circumstances together, concluded that David was canonised by Calixtus II, and later writers have accepted his statement, although Haddan and Stubbs were only half convinced of its truth.

II Canonisation of John of Beverley.

The following works of reference state as a fact that John of Beverley was canonised by Benedict IX in 1037 :—

(i) Article by William Hunt in the *D.N.B.*
(ii) Article by P. J. MacAuley in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*
(iii) *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Frances Arnold-Forster in her *Studies in Church Dedications*, I, 391 (1899), makes the same statement.

All these writers appear to have based this statement on the following ones made by James Raine in his *Fasti Eboracenses*, I, (1863) :—

(*a*) p. 89: "*In* 1037 *he* (John) *was solemnly canonised at Rome by Benedict IX*, and in that year archbishop Ælfric removed his bones and deposited them in a precious shrine which was radiant with gold and silver and jewels."

(*b*) p. 136: "On 25th of October, 1037, he (Ælfric) took up the remains of his predecessor, S. John, and translated them to a new shrine with a gorgeous ceremonial. *John had been canonised in the same year, probably at Ælfric's request.*"

Raine gives no authority whatever for the above italicised categorical assertions. The question naturally arises, therefore, as to whether they were based on fact or conjecture. If they were based on fact, it seems strange that Raine, who is usually extremely lavish with his references, should give none here. It is also noticeable that there is no Bull or letter referring to the canonisation of John of Beverley included in the *Epistolae et Diplomata* of Benedict IX, printed by Migne in the *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 141. Benedict's Bull canonising Simeon of Trèves (1041) is given in this collection. Moreover, Fontanini, in his *Codex Constitutionum*, has not any document concerning John of Beverley. If his canonisation is genuine, how is it that both these writers ignore it ?

The whole idea of John's formal canonisation in 1037 would seem to have arisen from Raine's confusion of the two perfectly distinct acts of canonisation and translation. He appears to think that because Ælfric solemnly translated John he must also have petitioned Benedict IX for a Bull of canonisation.

For this first translation we have the following authorities :—

(i) Thomas Stubbs (fl. 1373) in his *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboraci*, printed in *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*. Roll Series 71. (Raine gives a reference to this work.)

(ii) Leland, *Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, IV, 102 (ed. 1715).

Later writers have followed Raine without troubling to notice that he has references for the translation, but not for the canonisation. To conclude, it is most unlikely that John of Beverley was canonised by Benedict IX in 1037, for the following reasons :—

(i) There was no motive for the act. Retrospective canonisations were always uncommon.
(ii) There is no documentary proof of it.
(iii) Folcard's *Life*, written *c.* 1070, has nothing about it.
(iv) The Bollandists (*AA.SS.*, May, II) and Mabillon (*AA.SS.O.B.*, III, 433) are silent on the subject. They both merely mention the translation.

APPENDIX D.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PROCESSES OF CANONISATION AND THEIR PRINTED SOURCES.

Name.	*Date.*	*Pope.*	*Date of Canonisation.*
1. S. Hugh of Lincoln	1219	Honorius III	1220

[The manuscript copy of the Report of the papal commissioners appointed to investigate Hugh's miracles (British Museum, Cotton Roll, xiii, 27) has not, so far as I am aware, been printed. I have consulted it, but it is concerned chiefly with miracles. A few of the miracles described in an imperfect copy of the Report (British Museum, Harl. MS. 526) are printed in Appendix D of *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. VII (ed. J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series 21). Giraldus' Life of S. Hugh was probably drawn up with a view to the commission of inquiry. See also H. Thurston, S.J., *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, 569-572 (1898).]

2. B. John Sordi Cacciafronte of Vicenza	1223-1224	Honorius III	Never canonised

[*AA.SS.*, March, II, 753-754. Dondi dall' Orologio, *Istoria ecclesiastica di Padova*, VII, 35-41.]

3. S. Dominic	1233	Gregory IX	1234

[*AA.SS.*, August, I, 526-530 and 632-634. Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, 44-56.]

4. V. Hildegarde	1233	Gregory IX	Never canonised

[*Analecta Bollandiana*, II, 118-129.]

5. B. Odo of Novara	1241	Gregory IX	Cult approved, 1242

[*Analecta Bollandiana*, I, 324-353.]

6. S. Edmund of Abingdon	1244-1245	Innocent IV	1246

[MS. 154, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, contains the sworn depositions of four members of S. Edmund's household in the cause of his canonisation. It is the only fragment of the Process which has survived, and is pronounced to be evidently a copy of a portion of the original document dispatched to Rome. See W. Wallace, O.S.B., *Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury from Original Sources*, 9-10, 163-165 (1893), and Frances de Paravicini, *Life of St. Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canter-*

bury, xv-xvi (1898). The history of the proceedings, written by Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, one of the principal commissioners, is contained in Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III, 1831-1858 (1717), and various letters dealing with the subject are given *ibid.*, 1898-1928. Translations of several of these documents will be found in B. Ward, *St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. His Life as told by Old English Writers*, c. viii, 182-194 (1903).]

7. B. John Buoni of Mantua — 1251-1254 — Innocent IV — Cult approved, 1483

[*AA.SS.*, October, IX, 771-885.]

8. S. Clare — 1253 — Innocent IV — 1255

[*A.F.H.*, XIII, 439-493 (1921). The original Latin MS., or even a copy of it, is not known to exist. The document here printed is a fifteenth-century Italian translation written in the Umbrian dialect. With one exception, the miracles occurring after death are not recorded. See the preface by P. Zeffirino Lazzeri, *A.F.H.*, XIII, 403-438, and *A.F.H.*, V, 644-651 (1912).]

9. B. Margaret of Hungary — 1276 — Innocent V — Cult approved, 1789

[*AA.SS.*, January, II, 899-900. I have not been able to consult G. Fraknoi in *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, I, 163-383, Budapest (1896).]

10. S. Louis of France — 1273-1283 — Gregory X / Nicholas III / Martin IV — 1297

[All but a few fragments of the Process has disappeared. The loss matters the less since Saint-Pathus has incorporated the substance into his Life of the king. See H. F. Delaborde, *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus* (1899); H. F. Delaborde, *Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de saint Louis*, in *Mémoires de la Societé de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. 23, 1-71 (1896); Comte Riant, *Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis*, in *Notices et Documents publiés pour la Societé de l'Histoire de France à l'occasion du Cinquantième Anniversaire de sa fondation*, 155-176 (1884).]

APPENDIX E.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PROCESSES OF CANONISATION AND THEIR PRINTED SOURCES

[*Those marked with an asterisk are the ones of which I have made use.*]

	Name.	*Date.*	*Pope.*	*Date of Canonisation.*
*1.	S. Peter Morone (Celestine V)	1306	Clement V	1313
	[F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana*, L-LXIV, 211-334, Die Akten des Kanonisationprozess in dem codex zu Sulmona (1921).]			
*2.	S. Thomas of Cantelupe	1307	Clement V	1320
	[*AA.SS.*, October, I, 584-696.]			
*3.	S. Louis of Toulouse	1308	Clement V	1317
	[Not yet published.]			
4.	S. Clare of the Cross	1308	Clement V	1881
	[Not yet published.]			
*5.	S. Thomas Aquinas	1319	John XXII	1323
	[*AA.SS.*, March, I, 686-715.]			
*6.	S. Ives of Tréguier	1330	John XXII	1347
	[*AA.SS.*, May, IV, 541-577.]			
*7.	S. Elzéar de Sabran	1351	Clement VI	1369
	[*AA.SS.*, September, VII, 557-561.]			
*8.	V. Charles of Blois	1371	Gregory XI	Never canonised
	[Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, 540-570 (1707).]			
*9.	S. Bridget of Sweden	1379	Urban VI	1391
	[Annerstedt, *Script. Rer. Svecic.*, III, 2, 218-240 (1876).]			
*10.	S. Peter of Luxemburg	1390	Boniface IX	1527
	[*AA.SS.*, July, I, 525-607.]			
11.	B. Urban (V)	1390	Boniface IX	Cult approved, 1870
	[Albanès et Chevalier, *Actes anciens et documents concernant le B. Urbain V, pape*, I, 124-365.]			

ADDITIONAL NOTE 1.

While this book was printing, Mr. Robin Flower, Senior Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, very kindly drew my attention (through the medium of Mr. Herbert) to an article by him in *The Dublin Review* for April-June, 1921 (pp. 221-228) entitled *A Franciscan Bard.* The bard in question, a certain Tadhg Camshosach (or Crookshank) O'Daly, late in the fourteenth century "joined the Franciscan order, deserting the poetical school in which he had been trained, and went abroad to pursue his studies" (p. 222). The interest of Tadhg O'Daly for students of the life of S. Louis of Toulouse lies in the fact that the poet's "friends and companions, it is clear, attempted to alter his decision, but he supported himself by the example of S. Louis" (p. 226). In an Irish poem which Tadhg wrote on the occasion (which Mr. Flower translates, pp. 226-227), he says :

> "I have heard tell that after the world's way my friends make moan that I have bent under religion's yoke and turned my back on my comrades. Were I a young lad, sole heir of a great lord yonder in my father's land, where I was wont to be, then were it right to grieve for my sake. A child there was, whose action was no child's, a king's son and his only heir—I never heard of one so young—Louis, the comely, the slender. Into this order of poverty that I have joined he came in his young years—a sorrowful story, of another age—the heir of the folk of Sicily." And near the end of the poem we read : "Why should any grieve for a poor man, the son of poor folk ? It is not that I measure myself with that fresh, youthful countenance, but 'tis a holy tale that I have told of the bright-haired, sweet-voiced noble."

The "holy tale" which Tadhg tells in his poem is a conflation of Louis' actual story with the story (which frequently occurs in collections of "exempla" in the thirteenth century) of the noble youth who became a monk, and who, when his father insisted on his return to secular life, expressed his willingness to do so if his father would amend one bad custom which prevailed in his realm. The father promised to do this, and was then told that the bad custom was the liability of young as well as old to death. Mr. Flower, who discusses this story (pp. 224-225), says : "This tale must have been in the minds of many when, in 1296, Louis . . . joined the Franciscan order against the wishes of his parents" (pp. 225-226). It must certainly have been in the mind of Tadhg O'Daly when he makes Louis say to his father, who has come to seek him : "If thou wilt swear to me . . . that after thy death thy inheritance shall surely be mine, I will not go from thee . . . Often the father outlives the son, thou nor I can affirm that I shall be thine heir." The king is

struck by the soundness of this argument and departs sorrowfully, leaving his son to pursue his vocation.

Thus it is clear that while Tadhg was acquainted with the central fact of Louis' story, namely his act of renunciation, he was unacquainted with the details. This impression is confirmed by the stress which he lays upon the circumstance that Louis is his father's "only heir." The king says to Louis : "I see no son to follow after me but thee," and turning to the queen exclaims : "It wilders me whene'er I think that we have neither man nor woman of our seed or succession in all the realm." Nevertheless, the fact that an Irish poet living nearly a hundred years after S. Louis' death, should have justified his entry into the Franciscan Order by citing the example of the saint, affords an eloquent testimony to the force of the appeal which, as I have tried to show, the story of S. Louis made to the men and women of the Middle Ages.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2 (to p. 229).

Since writing the words on page 229 : "That is the sum total of French art with regard to representations of S. Louis of Toulouse," Mr. Herbert has drawn my attention to the existence of a miniature representing S. Louis on f. 99 of Egerton MS., 1070, an early fifteenth-century Book of Hours, of Paris Use, which came later into the possession of René of Anjou.

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